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ABSTRACT

The major explanatory interests of 17 studies summarized and individually abstracted in this report are: 1) the relationships between characteristics and conditions of educational systems and processes; and, 2) the pattern and trends in the formation of political and politically relevant attitudes among children and adolescents exposed to such systems and processes. During this part of a 5-year research program which began in 1966 3 studies were set in the U.S., 6 in Africa, and 1 each in Colombia, Micronesia, Venezuela, New Guinea, Malasia, Singapore, Chile, and West Germany. A description of each study's purpose, setting, methodology, and major findings is provided in the 2-4 page abstracts in Chapter 2. An overview of the project's problem areas, its relationship to the growing field of political socialization, and specific project objectives are given in Chapter 1. Chapter 3 includes a discussion of selected empirical findings, recommendations for further research, and methodological notes. Significant factors in attitude development were found to be outside of the formal curriculum: in the general societal context and the organizational and cultural configurations within school settings. Two books by the author, substantially based on the project findings, will be published in 1972. (Author/DJB)

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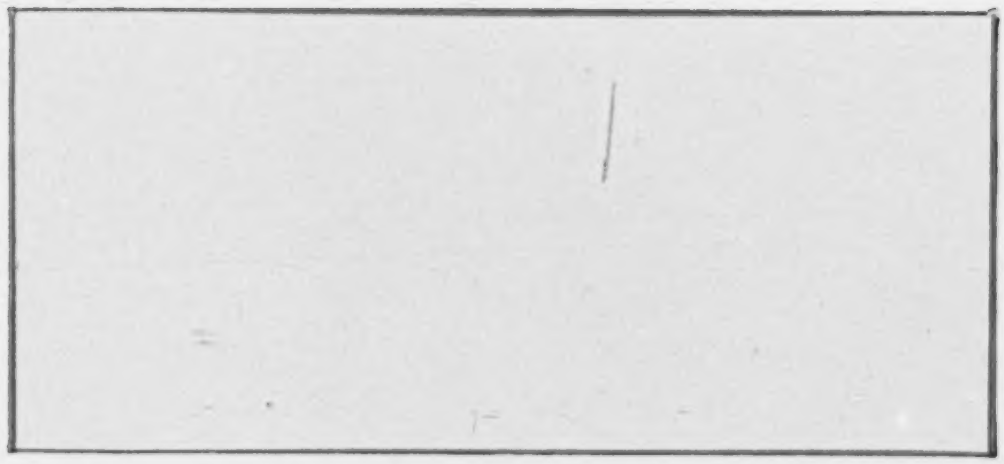

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EDUCATION AND THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL AND CIVIC ATTITUDES: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

ESCA-7

Final Report

By

Hans N. Weiler

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract titled "The Content and Instructional Methods of Education for the Economic-Political-Social Development of Nations" (Contract Number OEC-4-7-062597-1654) with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

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Stanford University

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PREFACE

This paper presents the summary report of the "Education and the Formation of Social and Civic Attitudes" (ESCA) portion of the Research Contract (# OEC-4-7-062597-1654) between the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) and the Stanford International Development Education Center (SIDEC). While this report attempts to provide a succinct and comprehensive overview of both the explanatory interests and the major findings of the research program conducted under this portion of the contract, it anticipates the publication of two major volumes which are substantially based on the insights generated by the various studies prepared under the ESCA part of the contract: the principal investigator in charge of the ESCA section, Professor Hans N. Weiler, is under contract with Little, Brown and Company to write a book on "Education and Political Development" for that publisher's series in Comparative Politics; the manuscript for this book is expected to be ready by the fall of this year. In a separate publication, tentatively entitled "Schooling and Citizenship: Comparative Investigations into the Learning of Political Beliefs and Attitudes", Professor Weiler is editing a series of contributions based on selected individual studies which were performed under the ESCA portion of this contract. Several publishers have indicated a strong interest in this second publication, and it is expected that the manuscript will be completed before the end of this year. These two projected volumes will augment and expand this summary report, and present in more detail both the range and the depth of the research endeavor in which the ESCA research staff has been involved over the past five years.

At SIDEC, research on the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes was already underway when this research contract was signed on December 14, 1966. Under the supervision of Dr. Weiler, who had joined the Stanford faculty in 1965 after having served for several years as the Deputy Director of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute in Freiburg/Germany, several doctoral students had already begun the preparation and implementation of individual research projects in this general area; Dr. Weiler himself had laid the groundwork for his own extensive research project on "Education and the Learning of Conflict Norms: A Study of West German Youths" (ESCA 18). The initiation of the contract provided a most valuable opportunity to consolidate and expand this emerging research endeavor, and over the next four years, the number of studies conducted under SIDEC's auspices on the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes reached a total of 17 (excluding this final report); while all of these were either wholly or partly supported from contract funds, successful efforts were made to draw on funding sources outside the contract to substantially broaden the scope of the overall investigation.

Throughout the duration of the contract, Dr. Weiler, a political scientist by training and a joint appointee in the School of Education and the Department of Political Science at Stanford, was in charge of the ESCA section of the contract. He and the entire ESCA team were particularly fortunate in having the continuous advice, support, and inspiration provided by Professors Paul R. Hanna, Eugene Staley, and Arthur P. Coladarci who were, at various times, responsible for the overall USOE-SIDEC contract. In addition to these, our other colleagues involved in the contract and in related research -- Professors Robert B. Textor, Martin Carnoy, Frank J. Moore, and George W. Parkyn -- deserve our special thanks for the willingness with which they and their research staffs shared their experiences with us, and provided invaluable criticism of our own experiences and work.

Clearly, our debts of gratitude go far beyond the group of people who were directly involved with the contract. Many other colleagues at Stanford, both in the School of Education and in other schools and departments, have freely given of their advice and insights, thereby providing most valuable assistance both to the overall design of the ESCA research program and to the implementation of individual studies. We are heavily indebted to a number of agencies both within Stanford University (most notably Stanford's Center for Research in International Studies under the direction of Dr. Carl B. Spaeth) and outside for financial support which helped to augment contract funds, thereby allowing the ESCA team to give its research efforts additional scope and depth beyond what was initially contemplated and provided for under the contract.

In their various research tasks both at home and abroad, all members of the ESCA team had to rely heavily on the professional competence, cooperation, and good nature of countless individuals associated with our various research settings; these included administrators, teachers, fellow researchers, and students, all of whom gave freely of their time and energies in order to support our efforts. It is hard to conceive how our research program could have been brought to such a successful completion without this truly magnificent display of international partnership in education and scholarship. Wherever feasible, we have made every effort to provide our "counterparts" in each research setting with the results of our work; we realize, however, that this is but a poor reciprocation of the many kinds of help we have received in the field, and wish to use this opportunity to place on record our sincere appreciation to the many friends we made in our work.

A very special note of thanks from the whole ESCA team goes to the Project Coordinator for the contract, Dr. William M. Rideout, Jr., now Associate Professor of Education at Florida State University. There could not have been a more arduous role in the entire contract

operation than his, and it is a credit to Dr. Rideout's professional and administrative caliber that he discharged his responsibilities in that role with so much skill and patience. In his numerous tasks, Dr. Rideout was ably and gracefully assisted by Miss Carolyn DeYoung, whose good humor and perseverance in spite of an overwhelming load of administrative detail left all of us both amazed and gratified.

Finally, the principal investigator owes his profound professional respect and personal gratitude to the members of the ESCA team. Their individual contributions to the overall outcome of the ESCA research program will be reviewed in the following pages, but their personal commitment to the project, their high motivation to achieve excellence in their own research, and their strong sense of cooperation stand out as one of the most satisfactory experiences of the entire program.

CHAPTER ONE: EDUCATION AND THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL AND CIVIC ATTITUDES

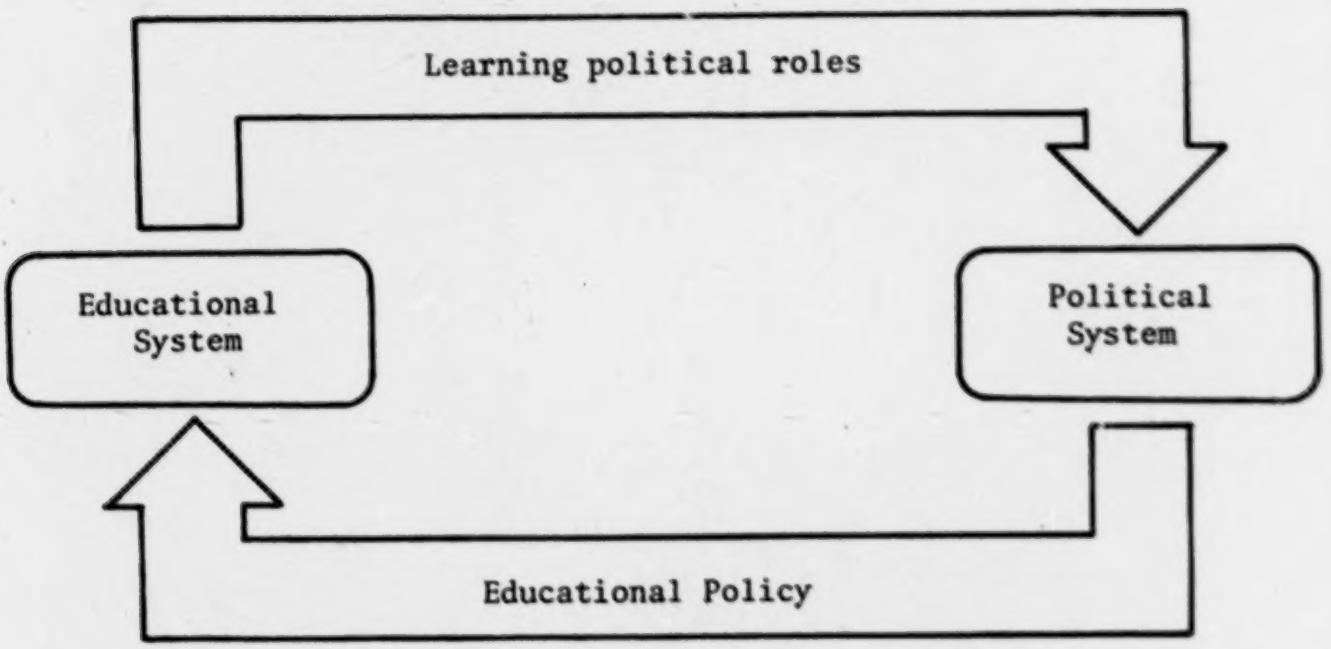
1. The Problem Area

In focussing on the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes, we designed our research effort to provide a special contribution to the growing concern with understanding the interaction between the educational and the political system in a developmental context. This interaction is conceived as being both reciprocal and dynamic: the educational and the political system are interdependent in such a way that changes in the educational system affect the political system, and vice-versa; by the same token, it is a dynamic relationship in that the educational system is considered at least in some important respects as an agent of change with respect to the political system, just as the political system can be conceived as at least one of the sources for change, developments, and innovations in education.

In the broadest sense, we can define the major influence that flows from the educational system to the political system as the learning of political roles; on the other hand, the political system's effect upon education manifests itself in what is considered as educational policy (Figure 1). It is the interplay of these two complex interactive processes which constitutes the broadest conceptual parameter for our more specific research concerns. While the main concern of most of our investigations has been with the contribution of education to the learning of political roles, certain aspects of educational policy-making and policy-implementation have emerged as an important secondary theme of our research program -- a fact which indicates, among other things, the closeness with which the two reciprocal dimensions of the education-politics relationship are intertwined.

On a slightly more specific level of conceptual elaboration, we can qualify our overall model by identifying several factors which intervene in the two directions of the relationship between education and the political system, and which appear to be particularly relevant to the developmental nature of that interaction (Figure 2). In the case where the political system influences, and to some extent changes, the educational system, three types of intervening conditions affect the kind of educational policy in which this influence manifests itself:

Figure 1: The Relationship Between
Educational and Political Systems



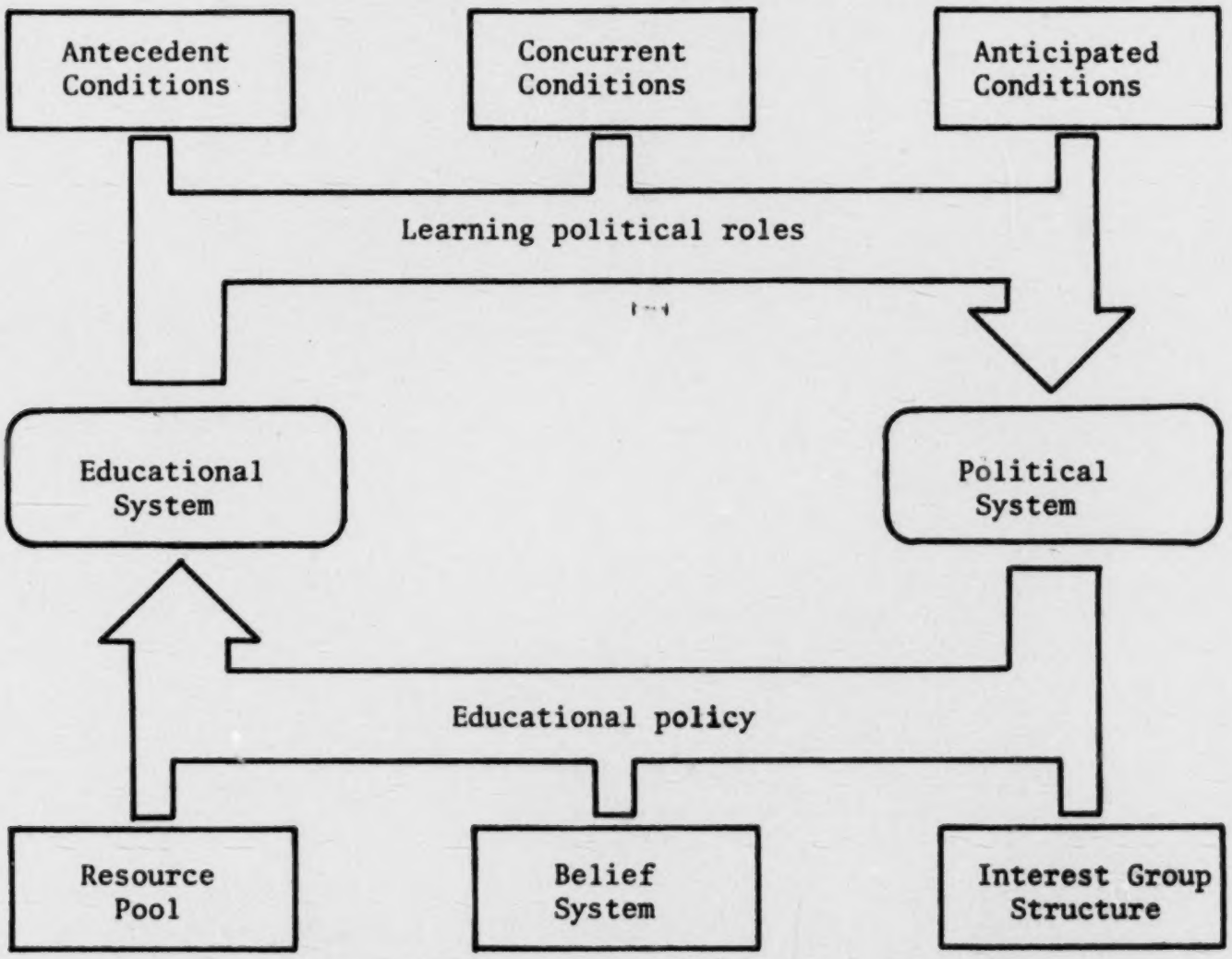
(1) The pool of available resources (material, human, and otherwise) in the society at large, which constitutes a boundary condition effectively limiting the range of possible policy choices;

(2) The belief system or systems prevalent in the society, which may again effectively limit and determine not only the range, but also the direction and substance of educational policy; and

(3) The structural arrangements by which certain identifiable groups in the society are given access to the processes of making and implementing policies; these arrangements can be conceived as constraints on the direction of educational policies insofar as such groups represent distinct belief systems, and/or as constraints on the operational modes of making and implementing educational policy decisions.

While each of these factors stands for a complex combination of a wide variety of conditions, it is suggested that, between them, they account for the greater part of variation in the actual flow of educational policies.

Figure 2: Factors Intervening in the Relationship Between Educational and Political Systems



We can elaborate in a similar way on the conditions that intervene in the process by which education contributes to the learning of diffuse or specific political roles. Much of our research under this contract has been concerned with identifying and empirically isolating the impact of educational variables on the learning of social and political roles; our findings reinforce what this model already suggests, namely, that this impact is mediated by a host of intervening conditions, most of which can be grouped together in three broad categories:

(1) Antecedent conditions, which precede the learner's exposure to the experience of formal education and have at least the potential of intervening in the ways in which the learner receives and perceives the school's message; such conditions may stem from characteristics that are either innate (e.g., sex), acquired in early childhood (e.g., diffuse beliefs about authority), or a combination of both (e.g., learned beliefs about racial differences).

(2) Concurrent conditions, which operate simultaneously with, but independent of the formal educational process to which the learner is exposed. As for instance in the case of media exposure, the effects of such concurrent learning experiences are not only direct in the sense of contributing to the formation of certain beliefs in the learner, but also indirect in that such learning constitutes an "interpretive framework" which will tend to "screen" or otherwise affect the communication between the school and the learner.

(3) Anticipated conditions, i.e., those conditions which the learner anticipates affecting him in the future and which, again, may lead him to be discretionary with regard to the message he receives through his schooling experience. Anticipated social status after leaving school is a case in point: messages on equality and social justice, for example, will be quite differentially received depending on the receiver's expectations regarding his own future social status.

Again, these three factors are clusters of a wide range of variables and combinations thereof; however, assuming their salience as intervening conditions in the political learning process leads to the adoption of an analytical framework in which education is no longer a source of political learning alongside other, relatively independent sources, but where the formal educational experience is conceived as operating in identifiable, if complex, forms of conjunction with other learning conditions.

It is in the context of this conceptual framework that some of our more striking findings have been obtained, although we are ready to admit that there is still a long way to go in both refining and validating the analytical propositions derived from it. Also, while the broad outline of this conceptualization has guided our research efforts from the beginning, it has undergone considerable refinement in the course of our actual research work.

2. The Research Background

Over the past several years, scholarly concern with the formation of political attitudes and beliefs, especially in children and adolescents, has achieved unprecedented popularity and importance among political scientists. Political socialization, as the new field came to be called, quickly became the subject of prolific research, writing, and conferencing, and commands by now at least the same amount of attention, interest, and resources as such older specializations in political science research as studies of voting behavior or legislatures. While we like to think that our own research under the contract has generated another significant contribution to this growing body of knowledge, we have also derived substantial benefits from the work done by our colleagues in political socialization research both prior to the beginning of our research program, and during the years in which we have worked under this contract.

It would go beyond the scope of this report to provide a detailed review of the state of the art in the study of political socialization, but it might be helpful to point out some of the characteristics of past and current political socialization research which have come to be considered particularly relevant for the strategy and direction of our own research efforts. In doing this, we draw attention to the time lag involved: when we began our research program in 1965/66, many of the more significant contributions to political socialization research were still in the making, and the theoretical, empirical, and methodological basis on which we could build was still relatively small; as we proceeded in our research, so did the field of political socialization as a whole, and we have been particularly anxious to feed such new insights as the field generated into our ongoing thinking and design; we hope that our colleagues outside of the project have derived similar benefits from our own work. With this background in mind, the attentive reader of our various individual studies should find a fairly clear pattern of progression in our work over the past five years. While our earlier studies were rather pioneering efforts in a theoretically and methodologically uncharted terrain, our later studies have had the significant benefit not just of the results of their predecessors, but also of the tremendous amount of work that had become available in the meantime from other researchers in the field of political socialization and related areas.

Taking stock of the field of political socialization at this point in time, however, still reveals some rather significant deficiencies and imbalances; we plan to review these briefly, and then proceed to show how our own research efforts under the contract have attempted to cope with at least some of them.

(1) The vast majority of political socialization research to date has concentrated on providing a descriptive account of the nature and distribution of certain political attitudes in pre-adult populations. There is no doubt that this research has generated important and instructive insights into the attitudinal make-up of different subgroups of incoming generations of adult citizens, and it is this kind of information in which political science as a discipline is most immediately interested. However, the explanatory component of this type of research, i.e., the identification of independent variables accounting for the differences in the distribution of political attitudes, has been largely confined to a few rather gross demographic variables such as parental socio-economic status (SES), sex, age, and the like.

(2) As a result of this limited attention to the actual process of political learning, and to the factors affecting this process, the findings of most political socialization research provide little insight into the contributions which various experiential settings, including formal schooling, tend to make to the acquisition of political beliefs and attitudes. A few notable exceptions notwithstanding, such knowledge as we do have on the demographic correlates of certain political profiles of children and adolescents does not provide us with many clues on how the actual learning conditions associated with such demographic characteristics have operated upon the socialization or learning process.

(3) The overwhelming part of socialization research to date has been conducted in the U.S. -- clearly as a result of both the strong empirical orientation and the sheer quantitative significance of the American political science profession. With some exceptions, political socialization research has only very recently moved beyond the U.S., and made its first advances into a truly comparative endeavor; we consider our own research program a significant part of that effort. Studying political socialization processes, or their results, in other political systems does in and of itself not yet constitute a truly comparative analysis, although it may, under certain circumstances, contribute to the data base necessary for such an analysis; we will have to deal with that problem in some more detail later on. In any event, a significant amount of data on political socialization in a variety of political systems has now become available, and we consider it one of our major tasks for the next few years to utilize that material for further and, hopefully, more refined analysis. Still, we are faced with a heavy predominance of American data, and in designing our own studies in non-American settings, we have been at pains to recognize the possibility that these data may reflect a rather special,

if not unique case, and that the theoretical propositions derived from them may in turn require tests of more universal validity.

(4) Furthermore -- and this applies to research both in the U.S. and abroad -- the main bulk of research in political socialization has been limited to the investigation of a relatively small range of attitudinal categories or variables. Under the influence of both David Easton's and Gabriel Almond's frameworks for the analysis of political systems, major emphasis has been placed on such attitudinal orientation as political efficacy, social trust, images of political authority, and the like. By comparison, other types of dispositions toward the political system and the individual's role in it, such as various forms of cynicism, attitudes toward dissent and conflict, tolerance of diversity and nonconformity, etc., have received far less attention. Here again, the factual and explanatory interest of the political scientist provides a good deal of justification for focussing on a limited range of variables which, for one theoretical reason or another, are deemed crucial for the understanding of the political system's present or future capabilities and operation; the educational researcher, who is primarily interested in ascertaining the differential attitudinal effects of various educational factors and experiences, is bound to adopt a broader and more open-ended perspective on the question of which dependent variables ought to be studied.

It is against this background of the research scene in the overall field of political socialization that the intentions, emphases, designs and findings of our own research program have to be seen. While some of our research will be found to suffer from very much the same problems which we have identified in other research efforts in this general area (an indication not just of our inadequacy but also of the fact that these are, indeed, rather formidable problems), we hope to have contributed modestly at least to their becoming more clearly identified and also, in some notable instances and respects, to their amelioration.

We will return to the validity of this claim when we review our findings in more detail in a later section of this report; at this point, it will be useful to outline the kinds of theoretical, methodological and policy considerations which have guided us in the development and design of our overall research program, and of its component case studies.

3. The Objectives of the ESCA Research Program

Given the relatively inconclusive and limited knowledge on the processes of political learning at the time, we were faced at the beginning of the project with an essentially exploratory task. Neither coherent theories nor proven methodologies were available to help us design a highly focussed and structured research effort, and develop testable hypotheses. Such measures of the outcomes and of the possible correlates of political learning as were available to us at the time were not only limited in both scope and reliability, but for the most part also lacked cross-cultural and cross-generational validity on the grounds of their having been developed and used mostly with American populations.

While this situation called for a good deal of experimentation and for substantial diversity in pursuing our inquiries, we were at the same time aware of the need for maximizing the cumulative quality of the research program as a whole. The pattern of studies that emerged under the ESCA section of the project reflects this dual constraint in that it is characterized by both a fairly wide range of approaches, frameworks, and designs, and by the gradual emergence of a "main line" of inquiry along which earlier studies began to form a basis upon which later research was built. However, besides the constraints resulting from the nature of our research task and the state of the field in which we anticipated working, the diversity apparent in the range of our individual studies was also, at least to some degree, due to the considerable (and, we believe, healthy) variety in the background, competence, and interest which the members of the ESCA team brought to their task. Given the richness of scholarly and professional experience represented by this group, we considered it potentially counterproductive to impose too rigid a mold on them -- even if the state of the art had allowed us to identify such a mold with a greater degree of confidence than we felt entitled to.

With these considerations in mind, it is possible to identify the major objectives which have led to the design of our research program and of our individual studies in the following broad categories:

(1) In the absence of any systematic effort to conceive of educational systems and processes as possible sources of social and political learning, one of our first tasks had to be to conceptualize, operationalize, and measure a variety of school-related variables which could at least be presumed to affect, independently or in interaction with other, non-school factors, the process of political and social learning. While taxonomies of educational systems and processes are available, the nature of the school as an agent of political socialization required a distinct effort to come to

empirically useful conceptual and operational terms with regard not only to the instructional aspects of the schooling experience, but also to such elements as the organizational structure of schools, the nature and variation in peer group relationships, teacher personality and behavior, and the various linkages between schools and their environment. While none of our studies has been exclusively confined to this task, it has assumed critical significance and required major efforts in most of them.

(2) For many of our major dependent variables -- political and politically relevant social attitudes -- some conceptual and, in some cases, operational basis was available for us to build on. studies of adult political attitudes and some of the early studies in pre-adult political socialization had generated considerable insights in the conceptual properties and the possibilities for measuring a variety of attitudinal orientations, and where our interests coincided with those of such earlier studies, our task was essentially one of making sure that these measures would provide valid indicators of the same kinds of attitudes if applied to populations in different age ranges and/or different political and cultural settings. This, to be sure, was no easy task, especially since our concern with the eventual comparative utility of our findings led us to attach a great deal of importance to the cross-system validity of our major constructs and measures. However, an even greater effort was required to identify and operationalize new measures for which there were no suitable precedents in the available research literature, or where available precedents were found inadequate. Many of our studies faced this problem, and we have made sure to report the elaborate procedures used in the development and validation of such new measures as extensively as possible in our individual monographs.

(3) While these two objectives were essentially of a supportive and preparatory nature (their complexity and difficulty notwithstanding), our major explanatory interest lay in exploring and identifying the relationship between characteristics and conditions of educational systems and processes, and the pattern and trends in the formation of political and politically relevant attitudes among children and adolescents exposed to such systems and processes. According to our conception of this relationship (as outlined in an earlier section of this chapter), it was considered particularly important to include in our analyses such external factors (i.e., external to the school) which we had reason to believe would intervene in this relationship. In one way or another, almost all of our studies address themselves to this task; they differ in that they focus on different sub-relationships between certain independent and certain dependent variables,

i.e., in their specific explanatory purpose. They also differ in terms of the setting in which the study was conducted, and it is here that the greatest diversity of the program is found. In full recognition of the problems associated with spreading a research program of this kind over such a wide and varied range of different settings, we opted deliberately for what one may call "the long view": since we expect this research effort, and the kinds of studies that will follow it, to contribute to a fuller understanding of the generic relationship between education and politics, it seemed essential to lay the goundwork for the theoretically most promising kind of analysis. This, in turn, calls for making the fullest possible use of the theoretical benefits to be derived from a truly comparative effort, even though we were aware that it would take longer than the relatively short life-time of this particular contract for the full yield of such an effort to materialize. The rich cross-national experience and expertise of our research team placed us in an unusually good position to undertake this kind of a task, and we hope that, as we will review our findings, we will be able to show at least some initial evidence for both the utility and feasibility of such an objective.

(4) Our studies differ also, and this again reflects one of the objectives of the program, in terms of their methodological approaches. Although such research on the distribution and nature of political and related attitudes as was available to us at the time was largely conducted according to one or the other variety of survey analysis, the specific explanatory task of our research program required the further exploration of both these and alternative ways for obtaining appropriate kinds of evidence. We were therefore particularly anxious to see at least some of our studies depart from the more usual type of cross-sectional survey analysis, and have explored the utility of both experimental or quasi-experimental and non-quantitative, historical types of inquiries. In addition, the follow-up on some of our field studies includes elements of longitudinal designs from which we expect a particularly rich and reliable yield of evidence.

(5) In defining the substantive scope of the learning process we wanted to study, we considered it especially important to conceive of it as broadly as possible. Thus, while our main explanatory interest lay in understanding the role of education in the learning of political roles, we were especially anxious not to confine our analysis to the realm of strictly political attitudes and beliefs, but to explore a broader range of orientations toward the society which, although not directly related to political objects and phenomena, could be conceived as contributing indirectly to the formation of political attitudes, and could become significant

determinants of political behavior. Attitudes toward language use in multi-linguistic societies are an illustrative case in point: while the object of the attitude is strictly "non-political", the political implications of certain patterns of linguistic preference, and of the resulting patterns of communication and association, can be shown to be highly significant with regard to such genuine political problems as national integration.

(6) Lastly, we felt that our investigations into the relationship between education and politics would not be complete unless we devoted at least some of our attention to the political system's influence on the development of education, and to the factors intervening in that relationship. Clearly, this interest takes second place compared to the bulk of our investigations into political learning processes, but we believe that it has generated, as we will try to show later on, some useful insights upon which further, and more systematic research, can be based.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF INDIVIDUAL STUDIES

1. Introduction

1.1. A note on presentation

There are several ways in which the 17 studies conducted under the auspices of our research program on "The role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes" might be presented. In some respects, it might be useful to group them geographically by research site, producing clusters of studies on Africa, Asia, Latin America, the U.S., etc. However, since the location of the research setting is in all cases readily apparent from the title of each study, it was felt that not much would be gained by making the geographical distribution even more explicit.

A rough chronological grouping would have provided another alternative, indicating the progression of our work over the duration of the research program; here again, the completion dates for each study provide this information clearly enough.

A more instructive mode of presentation would have been to group the studies according to the principal methodological approach used by each investigator. Thus, we would have had a cluster of experimental or quasi-experimental studies (e.g., ESCA-5; 6; 16), another one on historical and documentary analyses (e.g., ESCA-3; 12), one on the use of observational and similar methods (e.g., ESCA-10; 11), and a fairly substantial group of studies using one or the other variety of survey analysis (e.g., ESCA-1; 4; 8; 9; 13; 14; 15). While these groupings represent methodological emphases, they do not adequately reflect the fact that most of the studies employ several approaches in the study of a particular research problem. For example, most of the studies classified under "survey analysis" contain substantial sections based on historical and documentary analysis, thereby providing a much more thorough grasp of the problem than the use of survey data alone would afford.

Yet another alternative would have been a distinction according to the level of education at which the various studies were conducted. However, while some studies concentrated on one particular level of the educational system, many others extended across two or more levels.

Given the ambiguities inherent in all of these possible schemes of presentation, it seemed that we had best adopt a fairly

gross substantive classification based on the model developed in the first chapter of this report: on the one hand, a majority of our studies deals with various aspects of the process which we have described as the learning of social and political roles; these will be reviewed in the first part of this chapter, in an order of presentation which attempts to reflect commonalities in the explanatory interest of various subgroups of studies in this general area. The major division in this part is between the studies which focus on the teacher as both a product and an agent of socialization (Evans, DuBey, Baty, Wilson, Hartzler) and those dealing primarily with the student and his social and political learning experience (Arnove, Bock, Weiler, Murray, Stern, Court, Getzoff, Bezanson, Pearse, Rideout). In the later part of this chapter, we will review those studies which are concerned with various aspects of the making and implementation of educational policy. It should be noted that the separation of these two clusters of studies, while reflecting different emphases, is by no means entirely free of ambivalence and overlap. Several of the studies which we will review as contributions to studying the learning of social and political roles offer substantial insights into the educational policy conditions and contexts within which the learning process takes place (e.g., Evans, Arnove, Bock, Court). Similarly, at least some of the studies dealing with problems of educational policy go to great lengths in exploring both the attitudinal conditions and consequences of such policies (e.g., Paez-Gomez, Wilson, Rideout).

Each individual study will be reviewed in a common format in order to facilitate the identification of each study's distinct characteristics and contributions. For each study, we will deal with the following aspects:

1) Purpose of the study, conceptual and theoretical framework;

2) Setting of the investigation, population, institutional context;

3) Methods and sources of data collection, sampling, data reduction and analysis;

4) Major findings, questions and suggestions for further research.

The nature and scope of this final summary report require that these reviews be rather concise; thus, it will be impossible to even come near to doing justice to the rich sources of information and insight which these studies represent. In the case of those studies which we were able to reproduce, or which are being commercially published, access to the full material should be relatively easy for anyone

interested in more detail. While it is expected that most of the other studies will eventually be published, the use of the microfilm copies or correspondence with the individual investigators remains the only means of access for the time being.

1.2. A note on completion, production, and publication

Virtually all of the 17 studies reviewed in this chapter have been completed; four studies (ESCA-15; 16; 17; 18) are in the final writing stage, and are expected to be complete within the next two or three months. Due to budget constraints, only six studies (ESCA-1 through ESCA-6, in addition to this report) have been reproduced as part of the SIDEC monograph series which also contains studies undertaken under the two other portions of the USOE-SIDEC research contract (OET and ERUT). All other studies are available in manuscript form, most of them also from University Microfilms. In addition to the two books by the principal investigator mentioned in the Preface, four studies (Evans, Arnove, Baty, Bock) have been either published or accepted for publication by commercial publishers, and several others are presently under review for commercial publication. Numerous articles in scholarly and professional journals have been based on the results of these various studies, and presentations by members of the ESCA team have been made at a number of professional meetings, including those of the American Educational Research Association, the Comparative and International Education Society, the American Political Science Association, the Asian Studies Association, the African Studies Association, and others.

As a result of these efforts at the dissemination of our research findings, we have enjoyed, and continue to enjoy, the benefits of a great deal of professional discussion and interaction. As the SIDEC research program continues its inquiries into the problems to which the ESCA portion of the contract was addressed, the increasing amount of feedback on our earlier studies constitutes an immensely valuable input into our ongoing research concerns.

Most of the members of the ESCA team, upon the completion of their work, have left Stanford to assume positions in universities, foundations, international organizations, and the like. For most of them, their new careers provide various opportunities to build on their experience in the ESCA program in terms of their current research, teaching, and policy-making responsibilities. One of the members of the ESCA team, Dr. John C. Bock, has recently been appointed to the faculty of the Stanford School of Education; he and Dr. Weiler, the principal investigator in charge of the ESCA program, are collaborating closely on further research efforts in the area of political learning and socialization.

2. The Case Studies

2.1. David R. Evans, Attitudes and Behavior of Teachers in Uganda: An Aspect of the Process of National Development. Reproduced as ESCA Monograph #1 in 1969; now being published by Praeger.

Dr. Evans, who received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford in 1969, is now on the faculty of the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, and is continuing his research work on problems of social learning and educational development in East Africa.

2.1.1. Purpose of the study

This study, the first to be completed under the ESCA research program, aims at a thorough investigation of one of the crucial factors in the school's socializing capability: the attitudes and behaviors of teachers with regard to major social and political issues and goals. Furthermore, it attempts to identify the major correlates of such attitudes and behaviors as a first step toward explaining the process of attitude formation and change in the teaching profession. It was expected that the results of this study would serve to assess the future potential of the Uganda secondary school system as one of the major sources of social and political learning. The basic tenet of this study is that the differences in background of the teachers have significant implications for the effects which the schools have on the attitudes, values, and knowledge of the pupils. Thus, the general thrust of the study is derived from a concern with the role of the teacher in the socialization of his students, while the actual analysis reported in the study focuses on a socialization process sui generis, namely, that of the teacher himself. The conceptual and theoretical framework for this study has been instructed by several earlier contributions to the field of social psychology and social learning, including the work by Gage, Krech, Kelman, Bandura and Walters, while the definition of the overall problem area owes a great deal to developments in the comparative analysis of political cultures and political socialization (Almond and Verba, Coleman, Easton and Dennis, Hess and Torney, Zeigler, and others).

2.1.2. Setting

The study was conducted in Uganda, where the investigator had had extensive prior field experience as a secondary school teacher. The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of all teachers, nationals and expatriates, in all government-assisted secondary schools of Uganda. In sampling from this population, a stratified random sample of 40% of all government-aided secondary schools was obtained first;

in the schools so selected, all teachers employed at the time of the study were then surveyed. In addition to the 31 schools selected in this way, a separate sample of 13 additional schools was used. These were schools that had earlier been chosen for the student survey conducted under the auspices of the "Education and Citizenship in East Africa" project under the direction of Professor Kenneth Prewitt (University of Chicago); including these schools and their teachers in the study was meant to facilitate later comparisons between Evans' teacher data and the student attitude data obtained by Prewitt. However, since Prewitt's data were subsequently impounded by the Uganda Government, such comparisons have to await the release of the student data. In all, Evans' sample consisted of a total of 417 teachers, composed in good approximation according to the overall teacher population at Uganda's secondary schools.

2.1.3. Methods

The major instrument used in the data collection was a questionnaire administered by the investigator to all the teachers in the sample. Additional information was obtained from interviews with the headmaster and individual teachers in each school, and from a perusal of school records. Elaborate pretest and retest procedures were used to insure the reliability and validity of the instrument used. The adequate reduction of the extensive body of data resulting from this study presented major problems, and it is in this phase that the study's major methodological contribution is to be found. In view of the scarcity of available research on similar settings and problems, theoretical guidelines for the design of an appropriate analysis were virtually non-existent. This was especially true with regard to the construction of valid composite indices measuring the attitudes and behaviors of teachers as dependent variables. For the purpose of obtaining such indices, Evans developed an elaborate factor analysis program, the results of which are shown to provide a much more thorough and valid representation of underlying dispositions than is the case with more conventional item-by-item types of analysis. The measures thus obtained were then analyzed in reference to several characteristics of the teacher sample, most notably their demographic characteristics (nationality, sex, age, etc.) and their training and experience background as teachers.

2.1.4. Findings

The study yielded a rich amount of descriptive information on the demographic, sociographic, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics of the secondary school teaching staff in Uganda. In terms of the relationship between teachers' background and their attitudes toward both the political system and their role in the educational

process, marked differences appear between the various subgroups of the teaching staff (regular British teachers trained in Britain; British volunteer teachers; wives of local British residents; U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers; Missionary teachers; Asian teachers; African teachers; and African teacher trainees). The picture that emerges is too complex to be adequately summarized in a few sentences, but the overall pattern suggests that, with regard to those characteristics of the teachers which can be considered potentially salient for the political socialization of their students "groups like the Missionaries, the Asians, and the Africans are high on knowledge, but low on the attitudes and values which would motivate them to transmit this knowledge. In contrast, the two volunteer groups (British and U.S. Peace Corps) are low on knowledge but relatively high on motivation. The British local teachers are generally low on both kinds of scales and the British trained teachers rank middle to low. (The teacher trainees) are generally high on both knowledge and attitudes which makes them the only group which shows a consistent pattern indicating a fairly high potential for socialization (pp. 221-222). On the basis of these results, the study proceeds to develop a series of considerations with regard to the training, recruitment, and employment patterns prevailing in the Uganda secondary school system.

In view of the overall goals of the ESCA research program, the Evans study provided invaluable insights into the problems of investigating one of the major "independent variables" in the political learning process, namely, the outlook and orientation of teachers. The substantive and methodological understandings gained from this study were to prove extremely valuable as our research moved into a closer and more systematic examination of the actual relationship between the nature of the school experience and the formation of social and civic attitudes in students.

2.2. Darrell DuBey, Teacher Training in the Northern States of Nigeria: Organizational Effects of Socialization for Citizenship. ESCA-15.

Mr. DuBey is in the final stage of writing up the results of his extensive field research in Northern Nigeria, and is teaching sociology of education at the California State College at Hayward.

2.2.1. Purpose of the study

DuBey's study approaches the question of how teachers form their social and political attitudes from a perspective which is both different from, and complementary to, Evans's earlier investigation in Uganda. In focussing on teacher trainees, he investigates the effect

of both internal and external characteristics of teacher training institutions upon the political socialization of their students. The design of the study is influenced by Evans's earlier work as well as by the conceptual and theoretical contributions of such sociologists as Meyer, Goffman, Dornbusch, and Wheeler.

2.2.2. Setting

The setting of the study are the four northernmost states of Nigeria which are relatively the least educationally advanced of the country. The study covered all 24 teacher's colleges in three of these states, plus an additional two colleges in a fourth state.

2.2.3. Method

A sample of approximately 400 women and 1,000 men was randomly selected from the student population at these training colleges, and it is from a survey of this sample that the study derives its main data base. A lengthy questionnaire was administered to the sample, and additional interviews were conducted with the principals and many staff members at the colleges. In addition, data on the characteristics of the colleges were collected from various educational and governmental sources.

For the purpose of measuring diffuse socialization outcomes, two attitude scales were constructed. These scales are designed to measure modernity and political efficacy, respectively, and are adapted versions of similar instruments used previously in different research settings. In order to measure the characteristics of the college environment, various indices were constructed from information obtained through the questionnaire, interviews, and other sources.

2.2.4. Findings

Among the more significant findings of this study is the realization that teacher training colleges are generally considered in contexts such as the Nigerian one as poor substitutes for "regular" secondary education in terms of future status expectations. It is for this reason that students in these training colleges who are least serious about becoming a teacher (but who have initially enrolled in the college anticipating the kinds of careers to which regular secondary education would lead), become most alienated as a result of their exposure to the college environment. Significant differences in this pattern occur, however, according to the trainees' sex: women students are much less likely than men students to find their high status aspirations blocked by the low prestige of the college and consequently show much lower degrees of alienation.

The actual effect of the college environment is indicated by rather significant differences in diffuse socialization outcomes between students in the beginning and those in the final grades of the school.

It is expected that, when the full report on the findings of this study is completed, valuable insights will have been gained not only into the process by which prospective teachers acquire orientations toward the social and political system within which they will operate, but also into some of the more generic qualities of the socialization process.

2.3. Roger M. Baty, The Effect of Cross-Cultural Inservice Training on Selected Attitudes of Elementary School Teacher Volunteers: A Field Experiment. Reproduced as ESCA Monograph #6 in 1970; now being published by Praeger.

Dr. Baty received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1970, and is now Director of the Intercultural Division at Johnston College, University of Redlands.

2.3.1. Purpose of the study

In this study, the overall research concern of the ESCA program has been applied to the investigation of a particularly salient socialization problem in a domestic U.S. setting. Baty's main concern in this study has been with the socialization of teachers with regard to their roles in teaching minority children of different cultural backgrounds. Singled out for specific study were two types of attitudinal orientation on the part of elementary school teachers: optimism with respect to pupil potential to achieve, and tolerance of self-assertiveness by educationally disadvantaged children. In order to study the formation of such attitudes, a controlled field experiment was designed in which the effects of both the exposure to the usual classroom situation and the exposure to a special inservice training program for the teachers were investigated. Within the theoretical context of acculturation research, the study constitutes a special application to the problems of minority education.

2.3.2. Setting

The study was conducted in a community in the southern part of the San Francisco Bay area, where the predominant minority was Mexican-American, and where overall community motivation toward improving the school system's responsiveness to the needs of children from that group in the community was particularly high. The population from

which the participants in the study were to be drawn consisted of all 1,200 elementary school teachers in that district.

2.3.3. Methods

The study was designed as a controlled field experiment in such a way that half of the approximately 100 teachers who volunteered for participation in the project were randomly assigned to a group which would undergo a special inservice training program designed to enhance their understanding of, and familiarity with, the specific conditions and backgrounds of Mexican-American elementary school children. The other half of the teachers were exposed to the usual type of classroom experience with Mexican-American children but would, by way of replication and after an initial post-test, undergo the same inservice training experience with which the first group had been provided in the first place. Thus, a pretest - post-test control group design with replication emerged, where the basis for ascertaining attitude change in the two groups of teachers was the comparison between pretest scores and scores on the various post-tests.

The attitude measures used as indicators of the two main dependent variables (optimism and tolerance) were subjected to elaborate tests of cohesion, reliability, and validity. The scores obtained from these measures were then used to test a number of hypotheses on the relationship between various kinds of teacher experiences and the formation of the attitudes in which the study was interested.

2.3.4. Findings

As a result of the different kinds of experiences to which the teachers were exposed in the various stages of the experiment, the study concludes that "it would appear that contact with the children in the classroom may be sufficient to increase teacher optimism with respect to pupil achievement potential. The evidence suggests that teachers with some experience have higher optimism than teachers with no experience, or teachers with considerable years of experience. Informational input (in the form of the special inservice training program) does not have a predictable effect on optimism. What the informational input and exposure to members of the group (i.e., the other teachers) does affect is the tolerance dimension. The information increases the extent to which the teacher is able to identify with the problems of the disadvantaged learner. This increased empathy, together with a greater understanding of ways in which the school system acts to remove the child from his culture, increases the teacher's propensity to change her own approach and to see changes introduced in the school system, in the form of greater experimentation and more deliberate attempts to harness the potential contribution of the Mexican-American children to the classroom."

The study was conceived and implemented so as to develop a paradigmatic model for the kind of research which would be applicable to a variety of educational situations in which cross-cultural understandings between teachers and students have become a salient issue.

2.4. Thomasyne Lightfoote Wilson, Different Patterns of Instruction in Liberia: Implications for Modernization. ESCA #10, completed in 1970.

Dr. Wilson received her Ed.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1970, and is now an Assistant Professor in Elementary Teacher Education at San Jose State College; in addition, she serves regularly as a Curriculum and Program Consultant on problems of minority education in the California Public School System.

2.4.1. Purpose of the study

This study addresses itself to the question of the extent to which curricular content and instructional processes in Liberian schools are conducive to the implementation of officially specified and prescribed development goals, specifically, 1) the need to increase education for female students in order to broaden the range of their economic, social, and civic participation, and 2) the need to orient schooling toward both the development of the agricultural sector and the improvement of public health and hygiene. It was assumed that, in implementing these goals, schools and, most notably, teachers had a particularly crucial role to play, and that their disposition toward these goals would be reflected in their actual classroom behavior. The observable pattern of classroom behavior in terms of these policy goals was to be interpreted and analyzed in terms of the teachers' own social and cultural background.

2.4.2. Setting

The study was conducted in Liberia, where the investigator had had extensive prior experience as a Peace Corps Volunteer involved in teacher training programs. For the purpose of the study, a typically urban and a typically rural school setting were selected for intensive study. While the cultural, social, and economic context of each setting was thoroughly investigated, the main subjects of the study were 30 teachers from the two high schools selected for this project.

2.4.3. Method

Three types of instruments were designed for this study: 1) a "class observation code" for the detailed recording of teachers'

instructional behavior; 2) an "agriculture and health inventory" for ascertaining teachers' knowledge of, and attitudes toward, key problems of agriculture and public health; and 3) a questionnaire to ascertain biographical and demographic information for each individual teacher. Using the class observation code, each teacher was observed during an extended series of classroom sessions, and her classroom behavior was recorded with particular reference to verbal and behavioral manifestations relevant to the three major policy issues under investigation. In addition, teachers were administered both the agriculture and health inventory and the questionnaire.

2.4.4. Findings

From the analysis of her observational and other data, Miss Wilson concludes that very little commitment to all three development goals is manifested by the teachers in their instructional behavior. She finds that, in the classroom, girls are given less attention and encouragement than boys, and that teachers score low in terms of both knowledge and attitudinal commitment to the advancement of both agriculture and public health and hygiene. With regard to these latter findings, however, her data show that there is a positive correlation between the amount of schooling and training a teacher has received, and her scores on the agriculture and health-hygiene measures. From her rich observational and other descriptive data on instructional problems in Liberian high schools, Miss Wilson has formulated a number of suggestions to be considered in the further development of teacher training in Liberia. Since the Dean of the Teacher Training College at the University of Liberia, Dr. Mary Antoinette Brown, has been closely associated with this study from the beginning, a particularly fortunate relationship with the actual practice of teacher training was made possible.

2.5. Lynn P. Hartzler, Higher Education for Leadership Roles in Educational Development Projects: An Exploratory Study. ESCA #11, completed in 1971.

Dr. Hartzler received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1971, and is now a UNESCO Educational Planner in Liberia.

2.5.1. Purpose of the study

The study addresses itself to the question of how to optimize the human factor in educational development projects for underdeveloped or underprivileged areas of the United States. As one of the particularly crucial human factors in such projects, the study identifies that of "initiative", a quality which is defined as similar to leadership,

but is limited to influencing group activities toward the setting and achievement of goals. Operationally, initiative was defined as a composite of 13 kinds of attitudes and skills. With regard to achieving the quality of initiative in persons responsibly involved in educational development projects, the study pursued two questions:

1) What was being done in a representative college to train persons for initiative roles in educational development projects? and
2) How could the effect of such training programs, i.e., the development of relevant attitudes and skills, be empirically measured?

It was assumed that, within the training experience, certain identifiable factors were particularly crucial in affecting various aspects of the overall initiative syndrome on the part of the trainees.

2.5.2. Setting

The study covered the teacher training program in one of the major state colleges in California, where a particular effort was made to train new teachers for assignments in areas that were characterized by a relative degree of underdevelopment in both the general socio-economic conditions and the provision of educational services. The population study consisted of the trainees in the program, the faculty responsible for the program, and the members of the staff of those elementary schools in which the trainees underwent their field training or internship.

2.5.3. Method

The principal method employed in this study was survey research. To collect data from the trainees, a paper and pencil questionnaire was used in pretest and post-test forms, following a pilot study. The data thus collected covered descriptive characteristics, past and present experiences, and opinions. The degree to which the trainees had achieved what the study had identified as initiative qualities was measured through ratings obtained from the trainers of the trainees in both the college and the elementary schools where the trainees served their internships. In addition, a sample of the college faculty and school staff involved in the training program was interviewed to obtain some measure of the kinds of inputs these trainers provided for the trainees' socialization experience in the training program. The trainee sample was divided into two parts: 1) a special training group consisting of 49 trainees enrolled in three newly established special projects which were specifically geared to the preparation of teachers for work with socioeconomically disadvantaged school populations; and 2) a comparison group of 195 trainees undergoing the regular teacher training program at the college without any specific program component related to the issue of underdevelopment or disadvantaged populations.

2.5.4. Findings

The comparison between the two groups of trainees (those who were exposed to a special training program geared to problems of disadvantaged populations and educational underdevelopment, and those who were not exposed to such a program) did not yield significant differences as far as the trainees' scores on measures of initiative were concerned. Hartzler attributes this lack of difference to the possibility that the regular teacher training program did include elements which had been presumed to exist only in the specialized, "development-oriented" program. A significant relationship was found to exist, however, between high scores on the initiative measure and extensive contact between the trainees and disadvantaged pupils in their internship schools. The study further identified the significance of acknowledged exposure to high-initiative trainer models for the development of initiative-related attitudes among the trainees.

The elaborate testing and validation of the various instruments used in this study resulted in the development of a rating form which is readily adaptable for use as a screening device in pre-employment and pre-training selection for various roles in educational development projects. It is believed that this instrument, apart from the specific findings of the study, will be a particularly useful outcome of this project.

2.6. Robert F. Arnove, The Impact of University Social Structures on Student Alienation: A Venezuelan Case Study. Reproduced as ESCA Monograph #4 in 1970; now being published by Praeger.

Dr. Arnove, who received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford in 1969, is now on the faculty of the School of Education at Indiana University; under the auspices of a Ford Foundation-Indiana University contract, he is presently working on problems of educational development in Colombia as an Education Adviser to the Ford Foundation's Bogota office. He will be a Visiting Professor at Stanford in 1971-72.

2.6.1. Purpose of the study

The problem to which this study addressed itself was the role of a student's university experience in the formation of an attitudinal orientation defined as alienation, i.e., as "a sense of low subjective competence or powerlessness", and indicated by "student evaluations of their competency to perform future occupational and political roles, and student expectations that their behavior would influence the probability of their success in those areas" (pp. 1-2). After a careful

review of the relevant literature, the following characteristic elements of the student's university experience were chosen as independent variables presumed to affect his level of alienation in specific ways: (1) prestige of teachers as role models or "significant others"; (2) student-faculty interaction; (3) teacher evaluations of students; (4) professionally relevant tasks in the curriculum; (5) work and apprenticeship opportunities; and (6) prestige of profession in Venezuelan society.

In a related argument, it was assumed that occupational alienation had the potential of affecting political alienation in the sense that "failure of the university to develop a sense of competency or efficacy in an area of important ego commitment, preparation for the world of work, would generalize to the student's evaluation of himself as a political actor" (p. 2).

The development of the conceptual and theoretical framework for the study, and of the hypotheses to be tested, owes much to the work of Seeman, Glazer, and especially to John W. Meyer of Stanford's Sociology Department, whose thinking and active assistance has been most valuable in this as in several other ESCA studies.

2.6.2. Setting

The setting selected for this study was the Universidad de Oriente, an experimental university founded in Eastern Venezuela in 1959. As the university was set up to serve as a laboratory for testing institutional and curricular innovations designed to better serve the needs of the developing Eastern Venezuelan region, its impact on a significant set of student social and political attitudes was considered to be a particularly intriguing and important problem for study.

The population from which the sample for the study was drawn consists of the total of 2,800 students enrolled in both the basic and advanced courses of the university at the time of the survey (April, 1968). As in the case of most of our other studies, the investigator in this case had had extensive prior experience in the research setting, having been a teacher at Oriente under Peace Corps auspices and, later, a Ford Foundation-University of New Mexico Intern in the Planning Office of the Venezuelan Ministry of Education.

2.6.3. Methods

Following extensive pilot interviewing, pretesting, and pretest data analysis, a questionnaire was developed and designed to measure both independent and dependent variables. The questionnaire was administered to students in randomly selected sections of the

various disciplines represented at the university. Altogether, the sample consisted of 900 students, representing 21% of the students in the basic studies program and 58% of the students in professional schools.

Particular care was taken in adapting and validating appropriate attitude measures for the specific cultural and contextual conditions prevailing in the research setting. While the basis of most attitude scales were instruments developed and used already in other, related research (primarily in the U.S.), a considerable effort during the analysis of the pretest data was devoted to the validation of adapted versions of those instruments.

In addition to the data obtained from the questionnaire, Arnove collected a substantial amount of supplementary information on the nature of instruction, interaction and counseling at the university.

2.6.4. Findings

In relation to the factors initially presumed to affect attitudes expressing students' alienation, the major findings resulting from the analysis of the data can be summarized as follows:

a) Successful and satisfactory training experiences within the university are positively associated with a strong sense of professional efficacy.

b) Institutionalized prestige of a field is substantially associated with a feeling of professional efficacy.

c) Institutionalized prestige of a field is negatively correlated with student-teacher interaction and satisfaction with reward systems.

d) Internal reward systems and student-teacher interaction patterns are greatly conditioned by the university's standing in the society and by the future status different departments can offer.

e) A sense of competency developed in the professional realm is positively associated with students' concepts of themselves as political actors.

f) The politically competent student is likely to be a more active and democratic citizen.

g) Intense involvement in the political realm is associated with expressions of confidence and optimism.

In terms of our overall research objectives, Arnove's study proved to be particularly useful for its significant contribution to the exploration of the relationship between non-political (professional efficacy) and political attitudes (political efficacy), and of the differential effect on these two sets of attitudinal orientations by the university experience. While professional efficacy and political efficacy are shown to be distinct, yet substantially interrelated dispositions, the study also shows that various aspects of the university experience affect these two variables in significantly different ways.

Arnove's study concludes with a particularly perceptive set of recommendations for further study in this general area of research; we will come back to some of these recommendations in our reports on other, subsequent studies and in our concluding chapter.

2.7. John C. Bock, Education and Nation-Building in Malaysia: A Study of Institutional Effect in Thirty-four Malaysian Secondary Schools. ESCA #8, completed in 1970, accepted for publication by Princeton University Press.

Dr. Bock received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1970, and is now an Assistant Professor of Education at Stanford and Director of SIDEC's Fellowship Program for Southeast Asian Educators.

2.7.1. Purpose of the study

Within the overall problem focus of the ESCA program on the role of formal education in the process of nation-building, this study's primary objective has been to empirically examine in depth the complex interrelationships between education and the other social institutions of Malaysia's transitional society in hopes of gaining a better understanding of those conditions which appear to facilitate, or impede, the effectiveness of the formal educational institution as an agent of directed social change. In particular, the study explores the relationship between the socialization and the mobility management function assigned to educational systems.

Theoretical guidance regarding the ways in which educational institutions are likely to be able to influence student values and attitudes is derived from the literature on socialization. In reviewing this literature, it was found that previous research on organizational socialization had focussed largely upon the selection function of the schools and upon the impact which they are likely to have upon the diffuse values of their clients as a result of internal structural

characteristics. Going beyond this focus, and benefiting from the pioneering work of S. N. Eisenstadt, Peter Blau, and John W. Meyer, Bock advanced the concept of schools as "institutions of social exchange", according to which he argues that the school's socializing power over its students is likely to be significantly related to student perception of the school's ability to offer and implement their future attainment of desired adult statuses. In addition, the study attempts to specify both the societal conditions and the features internal to the school's own organization that will facilitate or impair the individual school's as well as the educational system's ability to function as an effective exchange system.

2.7.2. Setting

Given the theoretical framework and explanatory interest of this study, Malaysia suggests itself as a particularly useful setting for a case study, for several reasons: first, due both to the range and complexity of the political problems confronting this nation, Malaysia may be seen as a conspicuous example of a transitional society attempting to cope with the many centrifugal forces which threaten the emergence of a viable, unified state; and, second, the political leadership of Malaysia has continuously, since before independence, articulated sentiments which link education intimately with the desire for a new and better political future. While the problems of national identity, national integration, participation and redistribution are present to some degree in nearly all the transitional states, nowhere else do they seem to operate with such special intensity as in the case of Malaysia. This is largely due to the size and power of Malaysia's ethnic minorities and to the serious political and economic imbalances which exist between them. This problem of ethnicity, though basically one of integration, intrudes into all of the other problem areas, exacerbating them and confounding their solution. Moreover, these problems which exist within Malaysian society as a whole are reflected, even intensified, in that nation's vastly fragmented and heterogeneous educational system. More than in any other nation, the debate over educational policy has tended to concentrate on the issues which divide the community as a whole. Consequently, the schools themselves have become the center of ethnic controversy and competition, focussing debate upon selection and integration norms.

2.7.3. Method

The study utilized a cross-sectional survey design which provided for the survey of 7,120 secondary school students in their 9th, 11th, and 13th year of education, from a sample of 34 Malaysian secondary schools. The survey questionnaire was administered in all three language media of instruction: English, Malay, and Chinese. The

questionnaire contained items covering the major independent and dependent variables, as well as extensive background material on the students. For the purpose of identifying "school type" as the major independent variable of the study, the 34 secondary schools in the sample were organized into five mutually exclusive, yet all-inclusive categories on the basis of their ethnic composition and their language medium of instruction: 1) Malay medium/Malay homogeneous; 2) English medium/Malay homogeneous; 3) English medium/heterogeneous; 4) English medium/Chinese homogeneous; and 5) Chinese medium/Chinese homogeneous.

The dependent variables of this study consisted of attitude and value constructs which were measured by means of a variety of scales and indices, and which were designed to elicit data pertinent to the theoretical concerns of this project: a) political alienation; b) national identity; c) ethnic trust; and d) objective civic competence (a measure of the cognitive information the respondent possesses regarding the polity of Malaysia).

The main feature of the analysis strategy in this study is the use of the school type classification system described above. This strategy permitted the investigator to compare students exposed to different types of institutional influences on the dependent attitudinal variables while controlling for student background characteristics. For this purpose, the test-factor method of analysis was used.

2.7.4. Findings

Initial analysis of the survey data revealed striking differences between the different school-type categories on the dependent student attitude variables. In particular, the English medium, ethnically heterogeneous category was significantly associated with high student alienation, ethnic distrust and negative evaluation of the government. With the exception that these heterogeneous school students were also found to be the least communal and scored the highest in objective civic competence of any subgroup in the sample, these results were contrary to the study's preliminary expectations based upon the presumed high exchange value of these heterogeneous institutions. Further confounding the initial predictions, the students of the relatively inefficacious Malay and Chinese homogeneous schools were found to be the least alienated and ethnically distrustful.

As a means of interpreting these original relationships, an analysis strategy was selected which proposed three alternative, or rival, explanations for these observed attitude differences: (1) that they were largely due to antecedent social background differences between the students recruited to these different categories of schools; (2) that they were a result of internal structural characteristics

unique to the different school categories; and (3) that the observed attitude differences were primarily due to differences in the external relationships of these schools to the adult occupational world.

Subsequent test factor analysis revealed that while sub-cultural differences between the student enrolment of the different school categories accounted largely, but not entirely, for differences on the communal/national variable, these background factors did not adequately account for the differences between school-types on the alienation and ethnic distrust variables. Bock then examined the alternative proposition that these observed differences could be largely attributed to internal structural differences between the school categories. Here it was found that the only internal variable which appeared to be unambiguously related to high alienation and distrust was that of heterogeneous ethnic structure.

However, when this relationship was investigated in depth, it was discovered that the heterogeneous structural characteristic was <u>not in itself</u> productive of alienation, but was operating through the mediation of an intervening variable which was termed "mobility inconsistency" (e.g., anticipation of blocked future mobility). This latter construct represents an attempt to measure student perceptions of the efficacy of the school in implementing their future career aspirations. Thus, it was concluded that it is the <u>interaction</u> between the internal heterogeneous ethnic structure and the students' perceptions about the efficacy of the school that is diminishing the socializing power of the English heterogeneous schools. The initial error had been in assuming that the students shared the investigator's beliefs about the high exchange value of these schools -- they quite apparently did not.

But it was still necessary to understand why these students perceived the heterogeneous schools, which on the basis of objective criteria were known to be the most efficacious, as possessing low exchange value. It was discovered that <u>the internal competitive structure</u> of these schools (and particularly within the academic arts stream) was producing intense ethnic rivalry and uncertainty over selection norms -- conditions which characterize the external, adult occupational reality in Malaysian society. Moreover, it was found that this rivalry and anxiety over selection norms appeared to be due to a complex interrelationship of both internal and external factors. The post-independence government policies of rapidly expanding elementary and lower and middle-secondary education, and also of utilizing the educational system as the primary instrument for sponsoring the social and economic mobility of the Malay community (while maintaining the universalistic examination system) has, in the English heterogeneous schools, resulted in placing high aspiring youths of both races in fierce competition for a limited number of upper-form and university

places, and for scarce status "resources" in the adult occupational world. Furthermore, the high visibility of Malay sponsorship, on the one hand, and the intimidating exposure to Chinese performance norms, on the other, serve to exacerbate this anxiety and discontent in the ethnically heterogeneous schools. In this respect, it can be seen that both the government's expansion policies and its policy of Malay educational sponsorship are seriously interfering with the schools' socialization task of creating an integrated, allegiant new citizenry.

Nevertheless, this painful preview of adult reality provided by the heterogeneous school experience may, in the long run, be less costly to both the youth and the society than the dangerous insulation from the realities of the competitive adult occupational world which appears to characterize the Malay vernacular schools. The potential for frustration, disenchantment and even anomie produced by their delayed introduction into adult reality appears to be far too high a price to pay for their temporary allegiance.

It should be noted that the evidence so far reported and published by Dr. Bock represents only a part of the substantial body of data which Dr. Bock was able to collect in Malaysia. Both he and other researchers in SIDEC are actively involved in analyzing and interpreting additional sets of data on both secondary and university students. Furthermore, Dr. Bock had designed his study in such a way as to allow for longitudinal follow-up of the students initially surveyed; since the original field work was completed, Dr. Bock has already conducted two such follow-up studies, the results of which will further substantiate and illuminate the kind of developmental patterns which the initial cross-sectional design had suggested.

2.8. Hans N. Weiler, Education and the Learning of Conflict Norms: A Study of West German Youths. ESCA #18; several partial research reports completed in 1970 and 1971, completion of the entire project expected in 1972.

Dr. Weiler is an Associate Professor of Education and Political Science at Stanford University, and has been the Principal Investigator for the ESCA research program from 1966 to 1971.

2.8.1. Purpose of the study

This study was designed to investigate the interaction between school-related and other demographic and experiential factors in influencing normative attitudinal orientations toward dissent and conflict in the social and political system. The major cluster of dependent variables studied in this project represents a construct defined as

"toleration of dissent and conflict", and is believed to be of crucial significance in determining the individual's responses to varying degrees and manifestations of intra-system conflict in a society. The major concern as well as the conceptual and theoretical properties of this study were substantially influenced by emerging concerns in the study of social and political conflict, and by several relevant research endeavors in both political science and sociology (Dahrendorf, McClosky, Coser, Sherif, etc.).

2.8.2. Setting

West Germany, where Dr. Weiler has had extensive professional and research experience in the past, was chosen as the site for this study in view of the particular salience of the issue of conflict orientation as identified by previous research (Almond and Verba, Dahrendorf). In order to obtain the widest possible range of educational experiences, the study dealt with a cross-section of students from all types of school below the university level. These include primary, intermediate, and secondary schools in the general education system, as well as various types of vocational schools.

2.8.3. Methods

An extensively pretested questionnaire was administered to a multi-stage, stratified random sample of 6,200 students drawn from the student population in two of the ten West German states. The questionnaire instrument included a variety of composite measures designed to provide indicators for several different dimensions of what was conceived as an overall syndrome of toleration of dissent and conflict. In addition, a substantial amount of information on characteristics of the schools from which the subjects of the survey came was independently obtained through interviews with school personnel and through the use of extensive documentary and statistical sources. The nature of the sample allowed for this information to be analyzed in conjunction with the attitude data for sufficiently large subgroups of the student sample.

2.8.4. Findings

Given the enormous amount of information collected in the course of this project, only a partial analysis of the data has so far been completed and evaluated. It appears, however, that a strong case can be made for certain specific experiences to contribute substantially to the formation of attitudes toward dissent and conflict. Patterns and intensities of interaction within family, peer group, and classroom are all found to have a significant relationship with the level of dissent toleration in such a way that both the level of "political content" and the degree of intensity of such interactions lead to particularly high

levels of dissent toleration. Particularly dramatic variations in the level of dissent toleration occur both between age grade levels and across different types of schools, and there are indications that both of these patterns reflect the influence of differential learning experiences typical of both certain grade levels and certain types of school.

2.9. Barry E. Stern, The Relationship Between Participation in Sports and the Moral and Political Socialization of High School Youth in Chile. ESCA #14, completed in 1971.

Dr. Stern received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1971, and will assume a position on the faculty of the School of Education at Oberlin College in the fall of 1971.

2.9.1. Purpose of the study

In our efforts to inquire into a variety of factors influencing the process of social and political learning, this particular study explores entirely new ground in concentrating on various experiences associated with sports participation as a possible source of social and political learning. As dependent variables, the study measures six types of socialization outcomes:

(1) confidence in incumbents of political roles;
(2) willingness to utilize legal means to achieve social or political change;
(3) political tolerance;
(4) maturity of moral judgment;
(5) social trust; and
(6) school efficacy.

The independent variable is represented by two highly related sports participation measures: (1) a sports orientation index, and (2) a participation on popular sports teams index, as well as a number of psychological and contextual sports factors.

2.9.2. Setting

In view of the investigator's previous professional experience in Latin America, and of the salience of sports in both the educational system and the general public, Chile was selected as the setting for this particular study. The actual field research was conducted in nine public and four private high schools in Santiago.

2.9.3. Method

A cluster sample of 1,500 male high school students in Santiago was administered a questionnaire designed to measure both the sports participation and political socialization variables, as well as to gather information on background and related factors. In addition, in order to measure maturity of moral judgment, an in-depth interview was developed and administered to a randomly drawn subsample of 76 students. Approximately half of the students surveyed were in their first year of high school studies, while the others were in the third year.

A particular effort was devoted to the design of the various measures employed in this study. While some of the measures were developed and validated by the investigator himself, most of the political attitude measures were developed and adapted from instruments used in other contexts in previous research. In designing and validating these measures, an elaborate set of factor analytic techniques and item analysis was used to assure the validity, unidimensionality, and internal consistency of the scales and indices. Bivariate and multivariate statistical procedures were employed to determine the relationships among and between the predictor and dependent variables. A reduced number of critical variables found to have the greatest explanatory power in the multiple regression equations were fit into path analysis models which are conceived to statistically approximate the socialization processes by which participation in sports becomes related to certain political orientations.

2.9.4. Findings

Among the conclusions derived from analyzing the relationship between independent (sports) and dependent (political attitude) variables, the following can be considered as particularly instructive, especially with regard to further research in this largely unexplored area:

Sports orientation, a composite measure which reveals the general extent of participation in sports, is positively associated with willingness to utilize legal means to achieve social and political change. This relationship is clearest when extreme groups are compared: athletes are clearly more willing than non-athletes to express a preference for working within the framework of laws provided by the society to change the social order whenever that might be necessary.

Participation on popular sports teams is positively associated with confidence in the incumbents of political roles. The

socialization effect of participating in a sport having high popularity was cited as a main reason for this relationship, as was the socialization effect of being a member of an organized team itself. The fact that this relationship is much stronger among third-year than among first-year students suggests that experience in organized athletics while in high school encourages the development of a generalized confidence in the people who run the political system.

On the other hand, it is found that participation in sports is not significantly related to maturity of moral judgment, political tolerance, or social trust. However, some factors more indirectly related to sports activity are found to be significantly associated with these dependent variables, and it will be a matter for further investigation to fully explore the nature and limitation of these interrelationships.

In addition to these actual findings, one major value of this study is to be seen in the development and validation of a number of new measurements and indices which should prove extremely useful for further studies in this general field.

2.10. David Court, Schooling Experience and the Making of Citizens: A Study of Tanzanian Secondary Students. ESCA #9, completed in 1970.

Dr. Court received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1970, and is now a Program Assistant for the Rockefeller Foundation in Nairobi, Kenya, and a Research Associate at the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Nairobi.

2.10.1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to contribute, from a particularly interesting socio-political setting, to our understanding of the ways in which certain social capacities -- those of citizenship -- are acquired in the course of formal education. Specifically, the study attempts to identify relationships between distinct types of secondary school experience and selected citizenship norms among students exposed to them. The particular theoretical focus of this investigation stems from the debate over whether the features which most significantly differentiate school contexts have their origin inside the institution or, alternatively, derive their influence from the relationship of the school to its wider society. The practical issue raised by this question is whether schools can actually take the lead in the diffusion of

new attitudes and values, or whether they can only follow and reflect the existing societal belief system.

Court suggests that schools have a significant impact upon the social and civic dispositions of their students. The precise nature of what is learned is assumed to vary according to certain specific conditions of an individual's schooling experience. Three important features of schooling experience are identified as likely sources of variation: a) the extent to which the school isolates the students from exposure to conflicting civic values, indicated by whether instruction occurs in a boarding or a day school setting; b) the extent to which school experience occurs in a homogeneous atmosphere with conformity pressures, indicated by whether it occurs in a mission school which is consistent with a student's own religious affiliation, or a heterogeneous government school; c) the political atmosphere or politicization of the school, indicated by the strength in the school of the Youth League of the national political party. In this study, schools are classified according to these features, and the impact of each upon a student's concept of his citizenship role is examined. A number of attributes of the citizenship role are used as dependent variables: a) national identity; b) social trust; c) civic idealism (the extent to which politicians are perceived as serving the common good rather than their own self-interest); and d) individual-social orientation (the extent to which a student displays a willingness to yield his own self-interest to the collective or national interest). The guiding assumption is that the strength with which these norms of citizenship are held will be a function of the presence or absence in an individual's schooling experience of the institutional features defined above.

2.10.2. Setting

A number of factors make Tanzania a particularly interesting setting for the investigation of the role of education in the formation of civic attitudes. Nowhere in Africa has the school's socializing function been more explicitly proclaimed than in Tanzania. Schools are explicitly assigned the task of securing recognition by individual students of their relationship to a previously unfamiliar collective, that of the nation state. The policy statement, "Education for Self-Reliance", details the attributes of this new relationship, or citizenship role, which students are expected to acquire and then diffuse throughout their society.

The historical development of Tanzania's education system has left secondary schools with many formal similarities, but also with important differences which make them an uncertain instrument of any central intention. Secondary schools are alike in that they all have a common curriculum, are based on the British public school model, are examination-oriented, cater to a small fraction of the relevant age

group, and are a part of a highly centralized administrative system. However, significant differences derive from whether they are residential or non-residential schools, whether their founding agency was a Christian mission or the government, and in the pattern of extracurricular activities which they promote. The assumption in this study is that these differences are an important source of variation in the impact which schools have upon the political learning of their students.

2.10.3. Method

This study resulted from Dr. Court's association with the "Education and Citizenship in East Africa" project which was directed by Professor Kenneth Prewitt of the University of Chicago. As part of this project, extensive questionnaire data on Tanzanian primary and secondary school students were collected by Professor George von der Muhll, now at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Dr. Court took a major part in the coding and processing of these data, and was given permission by Professors Prewitt and von der Muhll to utilize a significant part of these data for the purpose of this study. Thus, the study is based on questionnaire responses from 1,246 students in their 10th, 12th, and 14th years of education, from a national random sample of Tanzanian secondary schools. The questionnaire contained items covering the main variables discussed earlier as well as extensive background material on the students. Data from the questionnaire were supplemented by information from relevant published materials, Ministry of Education records, and information from officials and teachers. The main feature of the analysis used in this study is the use of matched groups of respondents. Groups of students were purposively selected so that they resembled each other as far as possible in all respects except for the predictor variable, and on this one they are selected to be as different as possible. Thus, the analysis design contrasts the citizenship norms of student groups which are comparable in terms of such background factors as ethnicity, sex, religion and grade level, but differ in the nature of their schooling experience.

2.10.4. Findings

Two findings from the descriptive section of the study are particularly interesting. The first is the fact that religion appears to be an important part of the individual student's identity, despite the secular emphasis of the national political culture. The second is the finding that Tanzanian students have a rather inclusive concept of citizenship in that they perceive a wide range of activities as linking them to their nation and government.

The most important general finding is that the citizenship norms of young Tanzanian secondary students do seem to be related to patterns of socialization associated with secondary schools. The principal specific findings can be listed summarily as follows:

1) For secondary students of comparable ability, age *per se* has substantially less effect than grade level upon the pattern of their civic attitudes;

2) Formal schooling appears to have a cumulative effect in the development of students' appreciation of their citizenship role; increased exposure to formal schooling is associated with a stronger sense of national identity, greater self-confidence, and higher levels of participation in school discussion of national affairs. At the same time, more schooling is associated with reduced civic idealism and a diminished sense of social obligation;

3) Whether or not secondary students reside at their secondary school is not associated with distinctive citizenship norms. However, the isolation of students, gauged by the rural or urban location of their school, does appear to be an important factor in differentiating the socializing effect of school contexts;

4) Two features of schooling experience seem to be particularly closely associated with the holding of distinctive citizenship norms: its homogeneity in terms of a student's religion and its degree of politicization.

2.11. Douglas P. Murray, Multi-Language Education and Bilingualism: The Formation of Social Brokers in Singapore. ESCA #13, completed in 1971.

Dr. Murray received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1971, and is presently the Program Director of the "National Committee on United States-China Relations" in New York.

2.11.1. Purpose of the study

This study was organized around the concept of "bilingual brokers" as agents of social integration in plural societies. The social broker is conceived as a bi-cultural person with social ties in two (or more) ethnic communities concurrently. Brokers are relevant to the integration of social systems as channels of communication and coordination between ethnic groups; elite brokers are most likely to operate in institutions that serve to integrate the society as a whole.

Since in Singapore, the setting selected for this study, language is a principal determinant of ethnic solidarity, the analysis was framed in terms of speech communities, and functional bilingualism was taken as the principal indicator of broker behavior. Thus, the principal questions which this study tends to answer are:

(1) What are the sources of demand for schooling in Chinese and English, and what does this indicate about the likely persistence of pluralism?

(2) In the process of political socialization, who becomes effectively bilingual, and why?

(3) How important is in-school second language training relative to family background and other factors in generating effective bilingualism?

(4) What social functions does, and will, English-Chinese bilingualism serve in relation to socio-political stability, particularly among the prospective elite?

2.11.2. Setting

Among the former colonies of Asia and Africa, few problems have threatened political stability more than the failure to devise widely acceptable language policies, since this usually involves the inflammable issues of race, religion, and culture. In Singapore, three major ethno-linguistic groups (Chinese, Malays, and South Indian Tamils) must be accommodated within the political order, and education is provided in all three of the respective languages, as well as in English. However, the greatest conflict has occurred not between these racial groups, but between those educated through English and through Chinese. Although Malay is nominally the national language, virtually all Chinese youth attend either English-medium or Chinese-medium schools. This study concentrates on the largest ethnic group, the Chinese of Singapore, in investigating how multi-language education relates to social pluralism and integration.

2.11.3. Method

A pre-coded self-report questionnaire, in both English and Chinese versions, was administered to over 900 Chinese-stream and 800 English-stream students of Chinese origin in pre-university classes, and 800 and 500 first-year students at the University of Singapore (English medium) and Nanyang University (Chinese medium), respectively. At the universities, almost all first-year students were included in the sample. At the pre-university level, a modified cluster sampling

of schools in each language stream was employed. Although the students in the sample did not yet play social roles in which broker behavior would be common or effective, they were considered old enough to demonstrate those abilities and inclinations that determine recruitment into broker roles.

The questionnaire solicited information about family background, the respondent's educational experience, and his skills, attitudes toward, and social behavior in four languages: his education medium, his "second language", the South China dialects, and Malay. For the latter purpose, a scale of attitudes toward these languages, an index of technical language skill, and a language usage scale were constructed. Scores on these scales were then cross-tabulated with the personal background and educational factors hypothesized as relevant to language learning and use.

2.11.4. Findings

As predicted, Chinese-stream students were much more "attitudinally bilingual"; they not only shared a positive orientation toward English but evinced a much stronger commitment to their own education medium (Chinese) than did their English-stream peers (English). Although the majority in both streams were infrequent users of their second languages, Chinese-educated youth were twice as likely to use English regularly as were English-stream students to use Chinese (Mandarin), demonstrating the growing economic dominance of English. In neither stream did individual school, type of school, or field of study have a strong bearing; attitudes and usage were principally a function of the same family background factors that had influenced the initial choice of education medium for the child: the cultural "Chineseness" and socioeconomic status of the home. In fostering bilingualism, formal education could proceed no faster than independent demographic and cultural changes.

In the Chinese stream, students of all backgrounds were equally likely to have favorable attitudes toward English; but excluding the small minority (2.6%) from Anglo homes, the best predictors of English use were family socioeconomic status and the ability to afford private tuition outside school. The English stream, in which virtually all students with Anglo parents were found, was much more diverse in both family background and language behavior. Only a small minority of those with Anglo parents exhibited any interest in or use of Mandarin; those from low SES, culturally Chinese families were much more inclined to learn and use Mandarin than those from bilingual families, reflecting how exposure to English weakens the cultural claims of Chinese.

Virtually identical patterns obtained for the university students, among whom one group held special interest: the 200 Chinese-educated youth who had entered the English-medium University of Singapore and enjoyed a unique opportunity to develop the skills of prospective brokers. They were disproportionately from higher SES families that provided the financial and social reinforcements for early learning of English. Virtually all were enrolled in scientific and technical rather than humanities departments, the relatively non-verbal fields which provide the easiest transition from one cultural-linguistic community to another.

Despite the apparently limited use of second languages by Singapore's Chinese students, stable and relatively widespread bilingualism appears as a realistic goal because the two languages serve different functions and are learned for different reasons: English primarily for social and economic purposes, and Chinese as a basis of personal cultural identity. While the importance of English was recognized universally, almost half of the English-stream respondents claimed to want at least some of their children educated in Chinese, as did virtually all Chinese-stream students. Despite the passing of the immigrant generation, and the post-war decline of Chinese school enrollments, the great majority of Singapore's young Chinese wish to share in both Anglo and Chinese culture. However, since differentials in family cultural and socioeconomic background are the prime determinants of effective bilingualism, the growing economic dominance of English is creating a politically dangerous system of "ethnic stratification", with the English-educated and Chinese-educated bilinguals on top, and the Chinese educated children of low SES, culturally Chinese families on the bottom.

The present education system increases this danger, by forcing parental choice between the two language streams; and as the proportion of local-born Chinese-educated and bilingual parents increases, the choice will become even more onerous. Singapore thus far has defused the language question by acceding to, rather than repressing, demands for communal education. It is assured of a substantial supply of bilingual elites because the existing system of second-language training reinforces the language orientations and skills of a minority of students from deviant family backgrounds. But the time seems right for a unified system of bilingual schooling that will distribute the burden of, and opportunity to develop, effective bilingualism more equally throughout the Chinese population.

2.12. R. David Getzoff, Measurement of Bilingual Usage Among Chinese Students in San Francisco: An Empirical Basis for the Development of a Bilingual Curriculum. ESCA #17, to be completed in late 1971.

Mr. Getzoff is presently involved in processing and analyzing a substantial amount of interview, questionnaire, and observational data from his study; the full report of the study will be available in late 1971.

2.12.1. Purpose of the study

This study is concerned with problems of language behavior among students in elementary and junior high schools, and is predicated on the assumption that language behavior in a contact situation is governed by societally patterned norms and is enacted within socially structured institutional domains. Its main conceptual and theoretical guidelines are derived from the works of Ferguson, Fishman, Gumperz, and Mackay, who as sociolinguists have addressed themselves to the study of language behavior under conditions of intergroup contact and of problems associated with bilingualism. Using the theory and descriptive techniques developed in sociolinguistics, the study establishes an empirical basis which could be used for determining the degree and kind of emphasis to be placed on instruction using the Chinese language for ethnic Chinese students in public schools in a major American city.

2.12.2. Setting

Field research for this study has been conducted in the heavily Chinese populated Chinatown-North Beach area of San Francisco. It focuses on a cross-section of school age children as members of a variety of Chinese speech groups undergoing a process of linguistic acculturation that is uneven over time and variable according to specific sociologically defined determinants.

2.12.3. Method

The study combines both survey research techniques utilizing a carefully pretested, self-administered questionnaire and a variety of ethnographic techniques ranging from simple observation of classrooms and informal interactional situations to intensive group discussion of language usage. The latter techniques were mainly construed to serve as a validity check on the results of the questionnaire survey. The main part of the survey instrument consists of items designed to yield a language usage score for each respondent within each salient domain of linguistic interaction (family, school, and peer group). The survey has been administered to a total of 2,700 ethnic Chinese school children on the elementary and junior high level. At present, the data

collected for this study are being analyzed with a view to describing and explaining the influence of social, cultural, and situational variables on language usage.

2.12.4. Findings

From a preliminary review of the data, the following findings appear to emerge:

1) The study will yield a reasonably close estimate of the number of students who speak the most common varieties of the Cantonese language, and the identification of those varieties (while this information is largely descriptive, it will provide valuable guidelines for determining the specific requirements for languages of instruction);

2) The study identifies sociolinguistic barriers to communication between speakers of different varieties of Cantonese, that is, the degree to which speaking a particular variety of Cantonese is related to sociological characteristics. From this information, it will be possible to infer interactional and communication boundaries within the overall ethnic Chinese student population;

3) The study determines the effect of a variety of social background factors on the usage of both Chinese and English languages; not all ethnic Chinese students use their mother tongue for the same purposes, or under the same circumstances, nor would they assign to it a similar cultural value in each case;

4) Finally, the study will estimate the degree to which exposure to school, presently tied to a fairly strict English monolingual norm (as opposed to exposure to the non-school media) affects the increased usage of English as compared to Chinese.

In the larger context of the ESCA research program this study provides another instance of focussing on language as a crucial factor in the social learning process; it is expected that, once the report on this study is completed, important objectives for further research into this complex area of sociolinguistic interactions will be established.

2.13. Richard Pearse, Intergroup Attitude Change in a Tribal Society: An Experimental Study in a New Guinea School. Reproduced as ESCA Monograph #5 in 1970.

Dr. Pearse is presently on leave from his faculty position at the Australian School of Pacific Administration, and serves as Educational Consultant to the Ford Foundation in Djakarta, Indonesia.

2.13.1. Purpose of the study

In the most general terms, the purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of common schooling upon the sentiments of students who are socialized in tribal societies and who belong to different sociocultural groups within the total society. More specifically, the study has conceptualized the independent variables which can be considered to have theoretical relevance for the formation of interpersonal sentiments, to derive from them conditions of interpersonal experience which can be expected to lead to the formation of positive sentiments, and to test the relationship between experience and sentiment in an experimental design in a field setting. The focal independent variable is the interaction of the individual with reality in the form of his interaction with members of other sociocultural groups. The institutional setting is the classroom environment of a school. The sociocultural setting is a society marked by traditional tribal social organization and sentiments. The conditions of interaction have been conceptualized in the framework of the existing body of constructs pertinent to attitude formation and change known as consistency theory. The focal dependent variable is sentiments related to an individual's willingness to associate with members of other sociocultural groups in interactions of different degrees of intimacy.

The study derives its major hypotheses from an extensive review of the research and theoretical literature in the general area of the relationship between interaction and attitude change (Homans, Sherif, Heider, and others), and especially from the forced compliance formulation of cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger).

2.13.2. Setting

Pearse's study was conducted among adolescents drawn from the segmentary tribes of the Papuan ethnic group of the Central and Eastern Highlands of New Guinea. Intensely hostile inter-tribal sentiments are traditionally characteristic of that ethnic group with which Pearse was particularly familiar due to an extended period of professional work for the educational authorities in that area. A government, coeducational boarding high school which draws its students from the various tribes in that ethnic group was chosen as the specific site for the study, as it seemed to offer the most ideal conditions for studying the effects of various in-school arrangements on the development of inter-tribal sentiments.

2.13.3. Method

Pearse's study represents one of the attempts in the overall ESCA program to utilize a controlled experimental design for the investigation of the role of schooling in the formation of socially and

politically relevant attitudes. Assignment of students to the various experimental and control groups used in the study was made in recognition of the particular salience of existing inter-tribal sentiments and of the kinds of interaction experiences that were presumed to affect such sentiments. Treatments were designed to reflect various degrees of intensity or intimacy of interactive experiences (from arranging tribally mixed pairs of seat mates to involving tribally mixed groups of students in the pursuit of superordinate classroom tasks). A range of observational and actual test measures was developed in order to describe the actual behavior of the students in both treatment and control groups, and to ascertain the effects of the various treatments as compared with change scores in the control groups. Measures to achieve the latter task included various attitude scales, and a specially designed sociometric test for measuring changes in the disposition to associate. The main technique employed for the analysis of the data thus obtained was analysis of variance.

2.13.4. Findings

From the careful testing of the various hypotheses developed for this study, two major propositions are being substantiated:

1) Where contiguity (in the form of being seated next to a member of another tribal group) is required by the school's social system, and the contiguity is associated with participation in group tasks between individuals of different sociocultural groups, this condition leads to an increase in the association between individuals of different groups, and a willingness to associate between those individuals, beyond the level to be found where the individuals do not participate in group tasks and are not required to associate;

2) Compared to a condition in which individuals are required to associate in the school's social system, a condition in which individuals are required to associate and to participate in the solution of group tasks leads to an increase in the voluntarily chosen associations between individuals from different sociocultural groups, and to the formation of more positive attitudes between the members of different sociocultural groups.

Thus, the results of this study support the proposition that association which is required by the school social system, or a condition of forced compliance, when combined with participation in group tasks, causes greater positive change than either a condition of free choice without group tasks or a condition of forced compliance without group tasks. While these results provide significant empirical support for the effect of a forced compliance condition, they also point to a wide range of further research into the effects of specific intra-classroom arrangements on the development of significant interpersonal

and intergroup attitudes. At the same time, Pearse's findings point out directions for the effective utilization of school environments for the amelioration of intergroup hostility in highly fragmented societies. In terms of the overall purposes of the ESCA research program, this study demonstrates the unique contribution of a highly controlled experimental design to understanding the role of school-related factors in the processes of developing and changing social and political attitudes.

2.14. Keith Bezanson, A Study of Uncertainty Behavior in a Ghanaian School: The Existence of Appropriate Incertitude, Its Teachability and Generalizability in the Classroom. ESCA #16, completed in 1971.

Mr. Bezanson has just finished writing up the report on his research, and will shortly return to Ghana for a major study of the problem of secondary school leavers under the auspices of the government of Ghana.

2.14.1. Purpose of the study

This study was designed to investigate patterns of decision-making behavior in the Ghanaian classroom situation. Previous research in Africa had indicated a tendency to arrive at decisions in problematic situations rapidly, incorrectly, and with a high level of certainty in the correctness of the solution offered. Research into decision-making under controlled laboratory conditions had indicated that for North American subjects early training conditions result in the establishment of conceptual systems which mediate between stimulus and response in decision-making situations, and that persons with "concrete" conceptual structures approach problem solving situations in predictably different ways than persons with "abstract" conceptual structures. Research into behavioral modification had suggested, further, that the conceptual structures which mediate behavior are modifiable when the stimulus environment and reinforcement contingencies are controlled. Against the background of this research, Bezanson's study was set up to investigate the following questions:

a) How far appropriate incertitude exists in classroom situations in Ghanaian school;

b) How far appropriate incertitude can be learned in the classroom situation;

c) How far appropriate incertitude behaviors, if learned, will generalize to new stimulus situations.

With this objective, the Bezanson study probes deeply into the actual process of learning and acquiring dispositions for responding to both the immediate and the more remote social environment of the student.

2.14.2. Setting

The study was conducted in a girls' secondary school in Southern Ghana. Given the experimental nature of the study, a limited setting was considered essential for an optimal utilization of the benefits to be derived from approximating a controlled laboratory situation.

2.14.3. Methods

A pencil and paper measure of appropriate incertitude was designed and pretested. This measure, together with the results of the Raven's progressive matrices, were used to form two control and two experimental groups from among the 129 first- and second-year female students which were matched through randomization and frequency distribution control. Behavioral criteria were specified and a teaching program was constructed for the teaching of behaviors of appropriate incertitude. Two teachers were involved, each teaching one control and one experimental group for an eight-week experimental period.

Outcome measures were obtained from a pencil and paper measure of appropriate incertitude and from an adapted form of Guilford's unusual uses test. Additional outcome measures were obtained from the content analysis of written materials. These materials involved tasks which were systematically removed from the stimulus conditions of the experimental program.

2.14.4. Findings

The results of this study confirmed what had been indicated by previous research: that there is indeed a tendency to arrive at decisions to problem situations rapidly, incorrectly, and with a high level of certainty in the correctness of the solution offered. Further, the Bezanson study showed that under controlled stimulus and reinforcement conditions, subjects did learn when it is appropriate to be uncertain and how to generate alternative hypotheses to problem situations. Finally, however, it was found that these newly learned behaviors did not generalize to new stimulus situations in a statistically significant way.

An important goal for education, particularly in developing countries where resources are scarce and where secondary education is restricted to a small proportion of the available school age population,

is learning how to deal with situations in which no one right answer can be known, and this means, among other things, knowing when to be uncertain. This study has indicated that such a goal can be partly realized using only available materials and manpower. The fact that the new behaviors failed to transfer to new situations may have been a function of the relative uniqueness of the experimental program in the Ghanaian classroom setting, or it may have resulted from the brevity of the training program (eight weeks). In general, the relevant criterion behaviors were learned and statistically significant results were obtained; it would be hypothesized that under more intensive training conditions these criterion behaviors would indeed transfer to new situations.

In terms of the overall research interest of the ESCA program, this particular study indicates in a particularly instructive way the nature of the contribution which a closely defined and well-controlled experimental study on the actual learning process can make toward understanding the overall phenomenon of the learning of socially and politically relevant attitudes and behavioral dispositions.

2.15. William M. Rideout, Jr., The Making of the New Congolese Elite in the Formal Education System. ESCA #12, completed in 1971.

Dr. Rideout, who was the Project Coordinator for the SIDEC-USOE contract and Assistant Director of SIDEC, received his Ph.D. in International Development Education from Stanford University in 1971, and is now an Associate Professor in the College of Education at Florida State University.

2.15.1. Purpose of the study

Rideout's study is concerned with the development of the educational system and the emergence of elites in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from 1885-1960. The basic proposition of the investigation is that education and occupation have been the key factors of social mobility since the establishment of European rule in the Congo. The study explores this proposition with a detailed historical investigation of both the recruitment and career patterns of successive "generations" of elites over the past 75 years in the history of the Congo. Guided by elite studies already completed concerning newly independent countries, especially in Africa, the elites in the Congo had been divided into three basic categories: (1) the colonial elite, made up of the Europeans responsible for the administration and control of the colony; (2) the traditional elite, who were the Congolese ruling at the time the Europeans took over; and (3) the educated Congolese elite, a new elite which developed under

the direction of the Europeans. It was one of the purposes of the study to inquire into the adequacy of this categorization on the basis of expanded historical evidence.

2.15.2. Setting

The choice of the Democratic Republic of the Congo as the site for this study was determined in part by Dr. Rideout's extensive previous experience in that country, as well as by what was conceived as a particularly intriguing pattern of elite formation over an extended period of time.

2.15.3. Method

Among the studies conducted under the ESCA program, Rideout's project stands out as pursuing most imaginatively the application of historical methods to the analysis of the relationship between education and the social and political system. Thus, besides the survey research and experimental approaches taken by other studies in this research program, this particular study provides an opportunity to review the utility of yet another methodological approach to the ESCA program's main objective.

The data for this study were gathered from university and government sources in Belgium, the Congo, and the United States. At the same time, extensive interviewing was undertaken with officials in Belgium and in the Congo, as well as with Protestant and Catholic missionaries, former colonial and technical assistance personnel, and representatives of the Congolese elites and students.

The study also represents a particularly successful instance of international research cooperation in that Dr. Rideout was able to join forces with a research team from the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut at Freiburg, Germany, whose members were involved in a major research effort on the relationship between education and politics in the Congo. Rideout's study, besides being a contribution in its own right, forms a substantial part of this overall research effort, the first results of which have now been published by the Freiburg institute in several volumes.

2.15.4. Findings

Rideout's historical investigation does indeed lead to a further refinement of the pattern in which successive generations of Congolese elites have emerged through the educational system. The discussion of each of these generations reveals significantly different patterns in the role of formal schooling in social mobility, and provides a great deal of insight into the role behaviors of each generation as a function of their particular educational experience.

In an attempt to summarize what amounts to an exceedingly rich and complex body of historical information, the following findings illustrate some of the conclusions that appear to be possible on the basis of that information:

1) The Congo possessed an educated elite at independence which, while having professional qualifications, had never been given positions of power and responsibility so that their educational and professional qualifications were not enriched by experience.

2) The most educated in the Congo at independence, the intermediary and the third generation elites, did not lead the independence movement or participate extensively in the first government.

3) Those who led the independence movement and led the first government were members of the second generation elite who were not as well educated but who had bureaucratic experience at low levels in the colonial government.

4) Teachers, however, were practically uninvolved in the independence movement in part because of their dispersion and their linkages to the missionaries.

5) The clerks, essentially urban oriented, had experience at lower levels of the administrative bureaucracy and, from their association with the colonial power structure, were able to successfully lead the independence movement. Their initial support came from the urban Congolese. Tribal allegiances were the means for projecting their movements beyond the cities.

6) The traditional and the new educated elites were, for the most part, not congruent; "elitehood" was increasingly linked to education and the traditional elite did not, except in a few instances, attain higher levels of education.

7) The traditional elite stagnated during European rule and not only ceased being an important model for young achievement-oriented Congolese, but played no role of importance in the independent government.

8) The new elite were trained to serve the needs of the colony. Only at the end of the colonial period did this practical orientation give way to open-ended academic programs which, even then, the colonial administration tried to control by regulating the content.

9) In spite of the colonial administration's protestations to the contrary, education began to develop an urban-rural dichotomization -- mass literacy and practical education was to be for the rural

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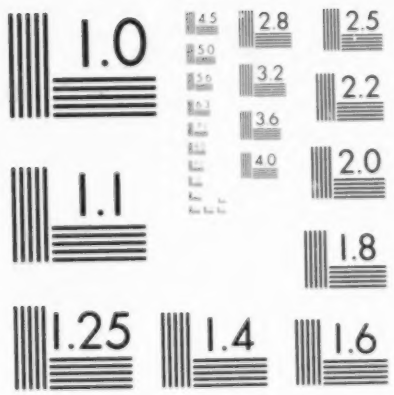

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

areas while the more advanced and academic education was to be for the urban regions. While the missionaries resisted this urban orientation for their elite, the state reinforced it in order to gain access to the Congolese it needed.

10) Regardless of the state's policy on assimilation or association for natives, the missionaries' policy for their elite was always assimilation, and the Congolese priests and pastors were closest to being integrated at independence than any other members of the educated elite.

2.16. Richard Pearse and Keith Bezanson, Education and Modernization in Micronesia: A Case Study in Development and Development Planning. Reproduced as ESCA Monograph #3 in 1970.

2.16.1. Purpose of the study

This study represents one of the few, but significant instances where the ESCA program undertook to explore a significantly different facet of the overall relationship between education and politics. In the majority of the ESCA studies, that relationship was conceived largely in terms of the contribution of education and school related experiences to the learning of political or politically relevant social roles. While many of these studies went to considerable lengths in describing and analyzing the educational policy context of the socialization process, their major emphasis was more on treating education as the independent variable and the social and political relevance of educational outcomes as the dependent variable.

In this study, however, as in the study by Paez, the focus is on the issue of educational policy and on the various factors intervening in the political system's influence on the development of the educational system. Pearse and Bezanson, whose individual research contributions to the ESCA program are reviewed elsewhere in this report, cooperated on this investigation into the conditions and needs for educational development in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) with a view to developing the broad outline of an educational plan for that area.

2.16.2. Setting

The study was conducted in the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), which can be considered as representing in a microcosm many of the issues and problems of development: economic, social, and political. In defining the terms of reference for this study, the investigators assumed that the Micronesian polity,

so far highly dependent on the U.S. Trustee, will be engaged in a series of acts of self-determination and will move toward a relatively high degree of political autonomy in the foreseeable future. From such a development, it was further argued, would derive certain educational tasks, and the study concentrates on identifying and specifying the nature of those tasks.

2.16.3. Method

The most significant characteristic of the method employed in this study is that it employs a systematically multi-disciplinary approach to the problem of planned development. Thus, the actual analysis performed for the study draws upon models and strategies suggested by the disciplines of political science, economics, sociology, and anthropology. The basic information which was used for the study is derived from a variety of documentary and statistical sources in both the U.S. and the Micronesian Islands, as well as from field investigations into the political, economic, and social problems of Micronesia.

2.16.4. Findings

The major results of this study consist in a set of priorities which are derived from a careful analysis of the developmental needs of Micronesia as revealed by the analysis of its political, economic, and social systems. These priorities, in turn, are then translated into an educational plan for Micronesia which takes into account both the constraints and the potential inherent in the present situation of the area. Rather than repeating the elaborate elements of the concrete plan for the development of Micronesian education which is contained in the published study, it may suffice for this summary to state the major priorities on which the specific recommendations of the plan are based:

1) There must be interaction and negotiation between the expatriate change agents and Micronesians. Such interaction must be applied to both the formulation of educational policy and to the formulation of educational programs;

2) In the Micronesian case, there needs to be a rapid increase in the number of Micronesians in the role of change agents;

3) A system of communication and a system of decision-making must be developed which will apply to the education process. Such systems should apply to the interaction between schools and the communities they serve, to the schools and the students, etc.;

4) These systems require that appropriate decision-making structures exist at all levels. But more importantly, they require acceptance of the proposition that Micronesian values and aspirations should guide all action plans.

2.17. Joaquín Páez-Gómez, Education and National Development in Colombia. Reproduced as ESCA Monograph #2 in 1969.

Dr. Páez-Gómez received his Ph.D. in Education from Stanford University in 1968, and is now Academic Dean at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogota, Colombia.

2.17.1. Purpose of the study

This study represents another approach to the investigation of the political context of educational policy-making and development, and concentrates specifically on the patterns of consensus and dissensus among participants in the public dialogue on the role of education in modernization, i.e., the attitudes, opinions, perceptions, and reservations of a country's leaders about the achievement of social and economic changes through education. This concern is reflected in the study's attempt to provide empirical answers to the following questions:

1) How do the Colombian leaders evaluate the performance of the educational system in the modernization process?

2) What are the perceptions on which these judgments about education were based?

3) How do the Colombian leaders define development?

4) How well are Colombian leaders able to integrate the educational system into their concepts of national development?

5) How well are Colombian leaders able to integrate other institutions, such as foreign agencies, the Colombian central government, and the Catholic Church, into their concepts of national development?

2.17.2. Setting

This is a case study of Colombia, where the investigator has had extensive professional experience in the field of educational policy-making prior to his becoming involved in this particular study. The need for a study of this kind in the particular setting of Colombia

is perceived to arise from the fact that the idea of education playing an important role in modernization is relatively new to the country's elites and that the roles of significant educational policy-making institutions such as the government and the Church in the modernization process have not yet been fully defined. Within Colombia, the population to be studied was defined to include those persons able to influence educational policies, either because they make decisions or because their intellectual, religious, political, military or socio-economic prestige gives them a voice in educational matters. The actual composition of this target population was defined by a panel of experts.

2.17.3. Methods

The major data gathering technique employed for this study was that of interviewing the total population of "influentials" previously identified. The interview schedule was organized around the five major questions which the study sought to answer, and was constructed to solicit extensive responses on these issues as well as information on the respondents' background and status characteristics (the latter ones to be confirmed by independent sources). The results of the interviews were coded and subjected to a variety of non-parametric statistical analyses.

2.17.4. Findings

The findings of the study support the notion that the idea of education playing a major role in national development is only partially accepted by the Colombian influentials interviewed. Their difficulty in assigning a major role to education stems, it would seem, from an incomplete grasp of the idea of development, particularly its sociological and psychological implications, and from an incomplete grasp of the educational process itself. Of particular interest is the finding that the respondents' opinions and the relationship among these opinions may be more validly explained in terms of the respondents' position or sector of influence or, more specifically, in terms of the advantage of the respondents' respective sectors of influence. It is suggested that the Colombian influential tends to view development less as an integrated attempt to enhance societal capabilities but rather as a scramble "to get a larger share of the pie", and that the Colombian influential, while committed to national development, tends to construe it in the very narrow terms of his sector of affiliation. This orientation seems traceable less to an attitude of selfishness or malice but seems to stem more from a lack of confidence in the other sectors of society as well as an incomplete grasp of the modernization process.

3. Other Contributions to the ESCA Research Program

While a wealth of information, analysis, and insights has been assembled through the studies which were explicitly a part of the ESCA research program, the ESCA team has had the benefit of being more or less closely associated with other research endeavors that have yielded additional insights into the role of education in the formation of social and political attitudes. Much of this additional research has been performed under the auspices of the two other portions of the SIDEC-USOE contract, i.e., the "Education and the Rural-Urban Transformation (ERUT)" and the "Occupational Education and Training (OET)" sections of the contract. While each of these two other sections had their particular explanatory interests, at least some of the studies performed under those programs touched upon a variety of issues which can be considered important aspects of the ESCA program's main research concerns. By the same token, of course, many of our ESCA studies provided similar contributions to the research program under these two other sections of the contract, and it is precisely this type of interaction and exchange which has made the entire research experience under the contract such an enriching and fruitful one.

Since the individual studies performed under the ERUT and OET sections of the contract are reviewed in great detail in other reports, especially in Planning Occupational Education and Training for Development (OET-1) by Eugene Staley, and Summary of Research on Education and the Rural-Urban Transformation (ERUT-10) by Robert B. Textor et al., this report will confine itself to listing those studies which have been found to provide particularly stimulating and instructive contributions to understanding the role of education in the development of social and political attitudes:

Douglas E. Foley, Culture, Politics, and Schools in Rural Philippines: An Ethnographic Study of Teacher Community Involvement (ERUT-3), 1971.

Jose C. Benitez, The Effects of Elite Recruitment and Training on Diffuse Socialization Outcomes (ERUT-7), 1971.

Dennis C. Sims, Self-Image and Social Change: Towards an Integrated Theory of Cybernetic Behavior (ERUT-9), 1971.

Richard Sack, The Role of Vocational Education and Other Modernizing Influences in the Acquisition of Attitudes Favorable Toward Modernization: A Tunisian Case Study (OET-9), 1971.

In addition, the association of individual members of the ESCA research team with research projects both within and outside

Stanford University has constituted a rich source of stimulation as well as theoretical and methodological experience. Dr. Court's association with Professor Prewitt's "Education and Citizenship in East Africa" project, which has been described in reviewing Court's study, has been a particularly instructive case in point. In many instances, members of the ESCA team in the field became not only loosely associated with local research programs, but were substantially involved in both the research and the training programs of their host institutions. It was characteristic of such associations to yield a particularly rich and mutually beneficial exchange of experiences and ideas and to provide a basis for further cooperative research endeavors in the future.

CHAPTER THREE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is patently impossible to summarize, with any degree of adequacy and justice, the results of as extensive and complex a research program as that represented by the 17 studies individually reviewed in the preceding chapter. Any serious effort to take off from where this program ended will have to turn to the detailed report on each individual study in order to fully assess its strength and weaknesses, and to identify the questions that it has left unanswered. Thus, the summary presented in this chapter will not be more than a highly condensed version of some of the more conspicuous lessons which the ESCA team has learned in the process of carrying out this research program.

Another difficulty in summarizing the results of this program arises from the fact that, as was more fully explained in the first chapter, our research program was deliberately kept open to a substantial variety of problem definitions, research sites, and methodological approaches. This diversity yielded a richness of information and insights which would have been impossible under a more narrow and exclusive definition of our terms of reference; the price to be paid for this diversity, however, is a certain lack of cohesion in the results of the program as a whole. On balance, we consider that price very well worth paying; facing a new and widely open frontier of research into the role of education in the development of political systems, we considered it much more important to explore as fully as possible the dimensions of this new frontier, rather than tying ourselves down to the pretense of an already well-charted and systematically and coherently definable area of inquiry. There were, to be sure, some considerable temptations in that direction. The emergence of a fair amount of political socialization research in this country at the time when our research program began could have provided a mold into which our entire research effort could have been cast. It would have been easy, for example, and would have led to impressively "coherent" results for us to embark on the successive replication of the major political socialization study conducted by Easton, Dennis, Hess, and Torney, or to follow the footsteps of Almond's and Verba's pioneering study on "The Civic Culture". Either course of action, however, and several possible others would have meant to accept assumptions about the nature of the field of social and political learning in a comparative perspective which we had every reason to consider premature and unduly confining. Instead, it appeared that SIDEC was in a particularly good position to advance beyond the boundaries of more or less established research parameters into the exploration of new and reasonably promising avenues of inquiring into the interaction between educational and political systems in a variety of conditions. It was

the breadth and depth of competence, methodological sophistication, and professional intercultural experience represented by the research staff available for this project which made us particularly confident in the eventual success of such a diversified and exploratory venture. The methodological and analytical diversity represented by the studies conducted under the ESCA program alone would seem to justify the avoidance of a rigid set of directives; indeed, recognizing the complementary contribution of different methodologies and modes of analysis is to be considered one of the most significant "results" of this research program.

Thus, we consider it appropriate to adopt a perspective which extends considerably beyond the duration of this research contract; many of the questions that we started out with were answered in the course of our investigations. However, the most important product of our effort are not these answers, but the many questions which we can now see and identify much more clearly, and with much greater confidence in the tools available for seeking new and more conclusive answers.

1. Selected Findings on the Role of Education in the Formation of Social and Civic Attitudes

By far the richest yield of the ESCA research program lies in the information it has provided on the role of school-related factors in the formation of social and civic attitudes. While some of our findings remain inconclusive and will have to await further inquiry and replication with more refined data collection instruments and analytical techniques, we claim a good deal of confidence in the validity and conclusiveness of the majority of our findings.

Most significantly, several of our studies (e.g., Arnove, ESCA-4; Bock, ESCA-8; Court, ESCA-9; Weiler, ESCA-18) contribute substantial evidence on the interaction between educational and non-educational factors in their effect on attitudinal change and development among students. To be sure, a number of school characteristics (e.g., degree of competitiveness, faculty-student interaction, reward systems, etc.) were identified as having a relatively independent effect on the pattern of social and civic attitudes among the students exposed to such characteristics; on the other hand, however, a much more substantial degree of the variance on our various attitudinal measures is accounted for by a complex set of factors in which such school characteristics are combined with either objectively existing or subjectively perceived characteristics of the wider society.

The strength and consistency of such findings across a fairly wide range of systemic conditions leads us to conclude that any future research effort in the area of political learning as a function of formal education needs to adopt models of analysis in which the societal context of schooling is conceived as a major set of intervening variables; in the majority of cases, variation on these extra-school factors can be expected to substantially affect the role of strictly school-related influences on the political learning or socialization process.

Among the findings which represent our effort to isolate the relative contribution of school related factors to the social and political learning process, one will have to note with particular attention the strength of the evidence suggesting that the actual "classroom climate" or, in a broader context, the organizational and cultural configurations within a school setting, are likely to affect students' attitudes much more significantly than the more deliberate and explicit socialization message conveyed through the formal curriculum. The studies by Pearse (ESCA-5), Court (ESCA-9), Bezanson (ESCA-16), Stern (ESCA-14) and others provide a wide range of instructive evidence along these lines.

Lastly, the strong emphasis in several of our studies on the teacher as both a crucial factor in the initiation and shaping of socialization processes and as a socialization "product" himself, has led to a substantial body of evidence in a hitherto rather neglected area of research. The studies by Evans (ESCA-1), Baty (ESCA-6), DuBey (ESCA-15), Hartzler (ESCA-11), and Wilson (ESCA-10) all speak, from a variety of viewpoints, to the interaction between the teacher's training experience and his sociocultural and economic background as a combined factor in determining his or her outlook on society at large and on the task of inducing students into the value and belief system of that society. While the findings in some of our other studies make us reluctant to attribute to the teacher the overriding role as a socialization agent which he is sometimes conceived as having, there is no question about the significance of his contribution both as a personal model and as a "linkage figure" between the school and the wider society.

There are many ways in which our general concern with the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes has penetrated and instructed those few studies in which we have ventured into the field of educational policy-making. Most significantly, however, as best illustrated by the studies of Páez (ESCA-2), and Pearse and Bezanson (ESCA-3), our preliminary work in this area has indicated the tremendous importance of ascertaining the pattern of attitudes, values, and beliefs among those who are primarily responsible for the design and implementation of educational policies. Already we are able to see the importance of conceiving of those policy-makers as being the products of a socialization process <u>sui generis</u>, and of identifying the background and experiential factors that contribute to their perceptions of society, and of the role of education in it.

2. Some Methodological Lessons

It will be recalled that much of our initial concern in the design of the overall ESCA program and its individual studies was methodological, and this concern has stayed with us throughout the duration of the project. Indeed, we are inclined to believe that the lessons learned from the variety of our methodological approaches are in many ways as significant as our substantive findings. There is, as again our earlier review of the state of the art has indicated, a very good reason for our attaching so much importance to the methodological problems involved in studying the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes. Given the fact that the study of "political socialization" had been largely confined to the relatively simple methodological parameters of public opinion research, we found ourselves with preciously few precedents and guidelines in moving into an area of research where the main task was not only the description of the nature and distribution of certain attitudes, but also the identification of specific factors which could be shown to contribute to the acquisition and development of such attitudes.

Such precedents as we were able to identify (primarily from studies of political socialization in the U.S., and from such comparative studies as Almond's and Verba's The Civic Culture), were almost exclusively of the cross-sectional survey analysis type, and while we were not satisfied at the outset that this kind of design constituted the optimal approach to pursuing our research interests, it was natural that several of our studies utilized, with due modifications and refinements, a variety of survey analysis designs. In adapting this design format to our particular research needs, however, a number of significant lessons were learned.

While much previous research in the area of political socialization had been based on probability samples of national or large scale sub-national populations, it turned out that our research required a stronger purposive or "cluster" element in the development of survey samples. In a design which tends to identify the contribution of a particular type of schooling experience on a group of otherwise (ethnically, socioeconomically, etc.) different students, it was necessary to develop samples in such a way as to obtain sufficiently large "cells" of respondents who were similar in terms of the schooling experience to which they were exposed, but who were different in terms of some other salient background characteristics. In many cases, this has led to "multi-stage" or cluster sampling strategies in which the sampling unit is not the individual student, but rather a classroom or, in some instances, an entire school. Under this kind of a sampling strategy, it also became possible to obtain a much more substantial

body of independent information on the school context from which our respondents came, as well as on the social or community context of each school. We are aware of the loss in external validity incurred by this "violation" of the principles of true and pure random or probability sampling; on the other hand we feel that the gain in explanatory leverage derived from the availability of substantial contextual information on some of our key independent variables more than makes up for this loss.

Probably the most significant methodological advance represented by both our survey and our experimental studies lies in the field of measurement. In every study, a particular effort was devoted to the design, modification, and validation of instruments for measuring both attitudes and a whole range of predictor variables. Scales that had been developed for use in the U.S. were elaborately transformed and validated for use in different cultural and social settings; measures used in adult populations were adapted to meet the demands of comprehensibility and validity in samples of younger respondents; and a wide range of new measures on a variety of variables was newly constructed in the field. It is therefore with particular confidence that we look at the instrumentation of our individual studies as one of the most useful contributions to further research in the area of social and political learning. A particularly thorny problem, of course, is that of cross-national and cross-cultural equivalence; individually and collectively, we have spent a great deal of effort on this question with regard to at least some of the measures that were particularly prominent in most of our studies. While we do not claim that we have achieved a set of measurements that is indisputably equivalent across the boundaries of cultural and social systems, we tend to believe that we have made some very significant steps in this direction. It will require further replication and validation of some of our instruments in an increased range of settings to further enhance our confidence in the valid comparative utility of these instruments.

The analysis of the data obtained from both survey and other kinds of research provides another field for both variety and insight. The range of statistical designs used in the data analysis of our various studies indicates a deliberate attempt to explore the relative utility of more than just the most common procedures of bivariate cross-tabulations. Depending on the design of each study, such methods as progressive test factor analysis, analysis of variance, multiple regression, factor analysis, and causal modeling techniques have all been put to extensive and, we believe, instructive use.

Valuable as the further refinement of survey analysis methods has been for the pursuit of our research interests, some of our studies have demonstrated not only viable, but extremely significant

methodological alternatives to the collection and analysis of survey data. In those studies where an experimental design was chosen, a much tighter control of the relevant contextual and experiential variables became possible, thus making the findings even more conclusive and valid. To be sure, there is an inherent weakness in experimental studies in that their results can be applied to a setting beyond the actual experiment only with the greatest caution, and we would be reluctant to recommend sacrificing the value of large-scale, survey based studies entirely for the benefits to be derived from relatively small-scale and unavoidably artificial experiments. However, our experience with both types of study has convinced us that they complement each other most productively and that, in a long-term research strategy, both kinds of designs should be brought to bear on the investigation of the same problem.

The methodological perspective of historical inquiry has been represented, as a third component, not only in the major approach of some of our studies, most notably Rideout's study on the Congo, but also in the form of important contributory ingredients in some of the other studies whose major emphasis lay on the collection of survey or experimental data. It has been shown that identifying the historical roots of the social and educational context in which social and political learning takes place not only sharpens the perception of the researcher with regard to the choice of variables, but also provides substantial explanatory power with regard to antecedents of the ongoing socialization process.

Lastly, it should be noted that, between the studies conducted under this program, a vast amount of carefully collected and processed data has been accumulated. Since the analysis performed for each study tended to concentrate on a specific aspect of the data collected, there are substantial portions of information contained in these data which are open to extensive original analysis from different theoretical perspectives. Given the substantial expenses in time, money, and energy invested in the collection of these various sets of data, it is only natural and economical to anticipate their further utilization by interested researchers. Therefore, a particular effort has been made to preserve the data collected for each of these studies, and the information needed for their further analysis, so that a great deal of very meaningful further analysis will be possible with a minimum of new data collection efforts. Already, some doctoral students at Stanford are working on data collected by members of the ESCA team; it is expected that this degree of utilization will increase over the next few years, and will thus multiply the return on the initial data collection investment.

APPENDIX: LIST OF ESCA STUDIES

ESCA-1 David R. Evans, Attitudes and Behavior of Teachers in Uganda: An Aspect of the Process of National Development, 1969.

ESCA-2 Joaquin Paez-Gomez, Education and National Development in Colombia, 1969.

ESCA-3 Richard Pearse and Keith A. Bezanson, Education and Modernization in Micronesia: A Case Study in Development and Development Planning, 1970.

ESCA-4 Robert F. Arnove, The Impact of University Social Structures on Student Alienation: A Venezuelan Case Study, 1970.

ESCA-5 Richard Pearse, Intergroup Attitude Change in a Tribal Society: An Experimental Study in a New Guinea School, 1970.

ESCA-6 Roger Mendenhall Baty, The Effect of Cross-Cultural Inservice Training on Selected Attitudes of Elementary School Teacher Volunteers: A Field Experiment, 1970.

ESCA-7 Hans N. Weiler, Education and the Formation of Social and Civic Attitudes: Summary of Research (Final Report), 1971.

ESCA-8 John C. Bock, Education and Nation-Building in Malaysia: A Study of Institutional Effect in Thirty-four Malaysian Secondary Schools, 1970.

ESCA-9 David Court, Schooling Experience and the Making of Citizens: A Study of Tanzanian Secondary Students, 1970.

ESCA-10 Thomasyne L. Wilson, Different Patterns of Instruction in Liberia: Implications for Modernization, 1970.

ESCA-11 Lynn P. Hartzler, Higher Education for Leadership Roles in Educational Development Projects: An Exploratory Study, 1971.

ESCA-12 William M. Rideout, Jr., The Making of the New Congolese Elite in the Formal Education System, 1971.

ESCA-13 Douglas P. Murray, Multi-Language Education and Bilingualism: The Formation of Social Brokers in Singapore, 1971.

ESCA-14 Barry E. Stern, The Relationship Between Participation in Sports and the Moral and Political Socialization of High School Youth in Chile, 1971.

ESCA-15 Darrell DuBey, Teacher Training in the Northern States of Nigeria: Organizational Effects of Socialization for Citizenship, 1971.

ESCA-16 Keith Bezanson, A Study of Uncertainty Behavior in a Ghanaian School: The Existence of Appropriate Incertitude, Its Teachability and Generalizability in the Classroom, 1971.

ESCA-17 R. David Getzoff, Measurement of Bilingual Usage Among Chinese Students in San Francisco: An Empirical Basis for the Development of a Bilingual Curriculum, 1971.

ESCA-18 Hans N. Weiler, Education and the Learning of Conflict Norms: A Study of West German Youths, 1972.